UNFOLDING DRAMA IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

BASIL MATHEWS

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Unfolding Drama in Southeast Asia

BY BASIL MATHEWS
Author of
World Tides in the Far East, The Clash of Color, The Church Takes Root in India, United We Stand,
and others

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BASIL MATHEWS was born in Oxford and is a graduate of its famous University. For many years he resided in London, where he served the British missionary societies as editor, writer, and press representative. In 1924, he became Literature Secretary of the Boys' Work Division of the World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations, with headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland. During his five years in this post he edited *World's Youth;* and in addition he served the international missionary organizations—as he has continued to do since—in preparing a wide range of books on the world Christian movement and its leaders.

For a third of a century, beginning with the great Edinburgh missionary conference of 1910, Mr. Mathews has participated in many of the world missionary gatherings of the churches and of the Y.M.C.A. For a number of them he directed the publicity and prepared widely circulated volumes of report and general interpretation, notably for the decennial meetings of the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem, 1928, and Madras, 1938. In these conferences he has developed comradeship with Christian leaders of all races and nations, from the most advanced countries as well as from the areas in which the church is developing out of primitive backgrounds, and has shared their corporate thought and planning as they faced the task of the universal Christian church.

From 1932 to 1944 Mr. Mathews spent nearly half of each year in the United States as Professor of Christian World Relations at the Boston University School of Theology and the Andover-Newton Theological School. In 1944, he was called to be Professor of World Relations and Pastoral Theology at the Union College of British Columbia in Vancouver.

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PREFACE

EVERY morning during these years of war, parents tear open envelopes containing letters written by their sons in the armed forces from lands that we shall enter in this book. Nothing in those letters astonishes the folk at home more than to hear of the discovery of sturdy "native" Christian communities among these peoples in the tropical Far East and in Pacific island groups. Every reader will have seen in newspapers quotations from those letters, often telling of changes worked in the lives of the white boys by the spontaneous witness of brown Christians.

For all their immense range and bewildering variety, the peoples of Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo, New Guinea, the Solomons, and the Philippines have shared since Pearl Harbor one common experience—their submergence under the swift tides of Japanese conquest. That experience, although happily transient, has precipitated problems of reconstruction in every area of the life of all these peoples. We and they are bound up together henceforth, not only through the common experiences of war but because their and our destinies will be linked inextricably in the shaping of the postwar world. Fiji, being west of the date line, which has been accepted as the Pacific boundary of this book, is included although it was not overrun by Japan.

We contemplate first the forces that play upon them from all parts of the world, such as industrialism, imperial rule, nationalism, and communism. Against the background of history, we try to assess the power of the one community—the

Christian church—that is vigorously alive as a growing minority among every one of these peoples. Then, in the later and longer part of the book we pass in review the Buddhist peoples of Burma, Thailand, and Indo-China, the Moslem millions of Malaya, Indonesia, and the southern Philippines, the primitive spirit worshippers of all these areas and of many Pacific islands, as well as the now Christian peoples of other Pacific island clusters. A dramatic "close-up" of a heroic enterprise among the cannibal animists of Sumatra introduces to a general English-speaking audience for the first time one of the greatest pioneer apostles of the modern world—Ludwig Nommensen. As the acknowledgment in Chapter Four will show, I am indebted to Dr. Raymond L. Archer for outstanding help in securing source material about Nommensen and the remarkable Christian community that he brought into being.

Readers who discover more fully in those chapters—as in the letters from men in the services—the growing vitality of the Christian community among all these peoples may well be perplexed, when they read some of the new books on these lands, to discover either no reference to the Christian church or but slighting comments upon it. For example, Mr. Raymond Kennedy, in his informative book *The Ageless Indies*, and his Smithsonian Institution brochure on the same subject, speaks of "the desperation of the missionaries" after centuries of work, and asserts especially that Christianity "has never been able to make headway in Mohammedan areas." "Converts from the religion of Allah are rarities in the islands," he says. He betrays no knowledge of "the Indian church," as it is called, which has tens of thousands of converts from Islam and that has itself sent Javanese missionaries into the Hindu island of Bali with marked success. More converts from Islam have embraced Christianity in Indonesia than in any other area in the world. Nor does Mr. Kennedy show any sign of knowl-

edge that among the ex-cannibal Bataks of Sumatra and on the adjacent little island of Nias nearly half a million people now form the most numerous Protestant Christian community in Asia, east of India, and that it is largely self-supporting and self-governing and has its own missionary enterprise. All this is characteristic of many contemporary experts who are afflicted with the "blind-spot" malady of the secular mind in face of the facts of Christian expansion; and who tend, as transient anthropologists, to miss the real growth that is witnessed by the resident anthropologist—the missionary who lives for decades in the heart of the primitive and traditional life.

Having studied the peoples of these many lands and the Christian community growing in all of them, we seek in the third section of the book to discover the rôle played by the omnipresent Christian church as preacher, teacher, and healer, and in providing foundations for new community life among these torn and shaken peoples.

To speak of that scene as an "unfolding drama" is no exaggeration. In no other area of the world and at no other period in man's history have more potent forces, by disturbing old ways, opened up an era of change fraught with more momentous perils and possibilities. So at the close we try to trace the future strategy of the universal church as the Holy Spirit will guide it, and to see what part we can play as "servants of the divine foresight."

BASIL MATHEWS

Union College
Vancouver, British Columbia
Canada
August, 1944

Chapter One

SUPREME ORDEAL

If we look at the map of the areas that came under the flag of Japan in the six months following Pearl Harbor, our first sensation will be one of confusion. Can any common pattern of present life or of future pilgrimage, not to speak of any common geographical overarching unity, be discovered as our eye travels from the Philippine Islands southward to Borneo, eastward to the Gilberts, and thence by the Solomons and New Guinea past Bali, Java, and Sumatra to Malaya, and along the Asiatic mainland through Indo-China and Thailand to Burma?

To look below the surface at first sight merely adds to the confusion. For we discover peoples sprung from diverse races, speaking scores of languages with hundreds of dialects, practising nearly all the major religions of mankind, and living at every stage of civilization from the Stone Age to the modern era of chromium and plastics.

The first unifying factor round this vast semicircle is their common endurance of a supreme ordeal. The one hundred and fifty million people were all swept in 1942 by a tornado of conquest under the absolute rule of Japan.

The second common factor is that, with the exception of Thailand, every Asiatic, Indonesian, and Pacific island people in this area was under Western alien control when Japan took over. Even Thailand was not fully an exception, in view of

the fact that for decades the government at Bangkok retained uneasy freedom only by playing off its powerful British and French neighbors against each other; only to submit at last to a Japanese financial stranglehold.

The third common experience is that, when the catastrophic but transient submergence by the power of Japan has passed away, all these peoples will have to shape life afresh—politically and economically. Volcanic eruptive forces have shaken the old order.

Therefore, fourthly, the future government and welfare of all these peoples will be of deep and equal concern to mankind whatever the postwar pattern of world order may be. The substratum of religion in all these lands is also a common factor. It is animism, which variously emphasizes the guidance of the tribe by the spirits of ancestors, the cultivation of the favor of spirits dwelling in trees or rocks—godlets of fertility or disease—and the effort to secure for oneself that spirit energy (or *mana*), which can be used with terrible effect against one by the sorcerer.[1] The religion of Buddhists, Moslems, Hindus, and Confucianists, as well as of some Christians, is shot through with these spirit cults, which we shall see in action in later chapters as the spiritual basis of cannibalism and at work in other bizarre ways.

If we focus our gaze successively on four contrasted groups of people in different parts of this immense arc, the total perspective becomes much clearer.

First, in the three countries on the mainland of Asia are the peoples of Burma, Thailand, and Indo-China. All of these are largely Mongol in origin, blended with other types. All have overlaid their still prevalent animism with Buddhism. Second,

[1] Modern anthropologists call the appeal to the spirits of ancestors *animism;* the cult of good or demonic godlets, *animitism;* and the quest for *mana*, *dynamism.*

there are the peoples of the long Indonesian archipelago, from Sumatra by Java to Borneo and the Celebes, who are largely Malay in race, blended with darker aboriginal peoples on their highlands. Around the coasts their animism has been disciplined by Mohammedan forces; but, as we shall see, millions still live in primitive animism. Malaya, although it hangs on the Asiatic mainland by a slender thread, is linked by culture and race with Indonesia. The third group, the peoples of the Pacific islands, remained Stone Age primitive animists until forces from the West broke in on them in the nineteenth century. Numbers of these island peoples are now Christian. The fourth group, the peoples of the immense Philippine archipelago, are largely Malayan in racial origin. Having been for centuries under Spanish rule, with its intensive ecclesiastical pressure, they are predominantly Roman Catholic, with a considerable tincture of animism in the peasant population and of vigorous Islam in the south.

If we would understand the inner nature and deeper causes of the supreme ordeal through which all these peoples struggle today, we need to stand back and look at the vast world stage and the new drama into which they with all mankind are being drawn.

By and large, mankind for at least two thousand years has all unknowingly been weaving two contrary patterns of life.

The Hebrew and Christian teaching of the priceless value of man as a spiritual person, wedded to the Greek zest for exploring fearlessly and restlessly the meaning of truth, beauty, and goodness, and to the Roman's passion for ordered justice across all the frontiers under his dominion, gave birth to Western civilization. That civilization was, up to the day of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, imprisoned in Europe. Following that opening of new worlds, west and east, Western man won control over the earth. He harnessed the powers of

nature—powers so titanic that even now it is by no means certain that man will not destroy himself with them. Self-confident Western man strode in conquering might first from Europe to the Americas, then to all Asia and Africa. He imposed his empires everywhere, political and economic. At last at the end of the nineteenth century he straddled the planet like a Colossus. In practice he appeared to justify Swinburne's pæan,

> Glory to Man in the highest!
> For Man is the master of things.

This world-conquering civilization, however, will destroy itself in so far as it cuts itself off from the spiritual and moral roots from which its sap has flowed. It has roused against itself the wrath of Asiatic and African millions whom it has exploited; while these same people are eager to enjoy the many material benefits that have accompanied some colonial governments and commercial interests.

Simultaneously, another and a superb expansion from the West spread over the earth. Carrying in their hands the supreme Good News, Christian missionaries—preachers, teachers, and healers—and Christian government officials, traders, teachers, doctors, business men, and others went from Europe and America into every land. As a consequence today, for the first time in history, men and women of every people on earth share membership in the world Christian community, "the household of God." That household has as its head, not any Western civilization or power, but "the Lord of life." It is eternal and related to no passing civilization or transient race-domination. The saving salt of Christianity is, therefore, today working in the East and Africa against the materialist forces of Western civilization. Where Western man has started to exploit iniquitously in the East, or to govern with harsh selfishness, Christian influences, as we shall see, have come vigor-

ously into play on behalf of just dealing in commerce and trusteeship in government. Often they have failed. Yet every people in Southeast Asia, Indonesia, and the Pacific islands has received incalculable good from this Christian fight for the recognition of the sacredness of personality and of the stewardship of the powerful for the weak.

Meanwhile, Asiatic man has cherished an utterly different view of the meaning of life. What Western man sees as stark, hard, inescapable forces with which he must wrestle in order to control them, are to the Hindu or the Buddhist devotee sheer illusion. Man's path of escape from suffering is to get off "the wheel of things." He must seek peace by submerging himself in the universal, shoreless, tideless ocean of the Absolute, beyond all good and evil. Man in Asia has not tried to conquer natural forces; his purpose has been either to elude them or to adjust himself to them. All classes of society have walked along the paths of tradition. They have continued to weave on the loom of time the inherited pattern of a static civilization.

To say, as many do, that the East provides an essentially spiritual civilization is false. Eastern civilizations, because of the escapism of Buddhism and Hinduism and the fatalism of Islam, have let the material triumph over man's good. Disease, hunger, and despotism have made life burdensome for the common people. "Things are in the saddle and ride mankind."

Western man, European and American, hurled his disruptive civilization into the heart of those static, immemorial civilizations of Asia. Democracy, self-government, communism, nationalism, "rugged individualism," materialism in manifold new forms—all these forces invaded every shore. The rubber merchant, the oil prospector and financier, the planter and the miner, have exercised economic imperialism even in areas

where the flag of an Asiatic government has still flown. The internal combustion engine is driving man to squeeze the planet for fuel oil as a boy squeezes an orange for juice.

At last Japan, by the swiftest transformation of national life that any people has ever achieved, seized on every tool of Western civilization and with burning national enthusiasm applied it to the task of "hoisting the West with its own petard." At the turn of the century Japan brought the Russian tsarist giant to his knees. In 1942 she threw into retreat the forces of America, Britain, and Holland, after binding a broken France to her victorious chariot wheel in Indo-China. A hundred and fifty million people spread over those thousands of miles of territory were suddenly transferred from Western to Eastern rule. The trend of Western advance from 1500 to 1900 was hurled back for the first time. But the West was hurled back because the East had seized and learned to use the tools and weapons first forged by the West. Mechanistic civilization can no longer be regarded as Western; it is planetary.

We have now looked at the world pageant in its global perspective. We concentrate next upon Southeast Asia and the island archipelagoes. On that stage we watch the ongoing drama of man as he is at once the sport of those vast forces and yet struggles to master them.

Three inescapable certainties dominate the whole scene. The first is so obvious that we should hesitate to set it down were it not that some politicians, journalists, authors, labor leaders, capitalists, and even preachers proclaim its denial. We are all so closely woven together in the fabric of this one interdependent world that whether we clash or cooperate we can never again live in isolation. This means that every person and nation shoulders inescapable responsibility for shaping the future. We cannot—to use Dr. John A. Mackay's chal-

lenging phrase—take "the balcony view of life." We are in the crowd in the world's street.

The second fact is that a new future of freedom can be shaped only when control exercised by a Cæsarism that claims absolute authority over all life is lifted. The worship of the corporate state is servitude. Either it must die or freedom will perish.

Third, that achievement will have real value only as Eastern and Western peoples work together for mutual development into an ordered freedom rooted in equal justice, each bringing his special capacity to enrich the common life of all. As Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has succinctly put it: "There will be neither peace, nor hope, nor future for any of us unless we honestly aim at political, social, and economic justice for all peoples of the world, great and small. . . . China has no desire to replace Western imperialism in Asia with an Oriental imperialism or isolationism. . . . Unless world cooperation replaces both isolationism and imperialism of whatever form in the new interdependent world of free nations, there is no lasting security for you or for us."

Has the Christian church, as a universally present community in all these lands, any place in this reconstruction of the future?

We find a challenging parallel to the Christian situation in Southeast Asia today if we look back and picture to ourselves the life of the church in the Roman world under Trajan early in the second century.

The Christian communities scattered across the Roman Empire from Antioch to Britain were then, as the scattered churches in Southeast Asia are today, minorities composed mainly of the common people. They exercised no control over government, commerce, or finance, or over any of the visible instruments of power. Those early churches also felt

the increasing pressure of the command to make obeisance before the altars of Cæsar.

A Roman government official or a Greek merchant-sailor would have dubbed Polycarp crazy if, while he was bound to the stake in the hilltop hippodrome over Smyrna and the flames began to roar around him because he refused to offer incense before the image of the Roman Emperor, he had claimed that those little scattered Christian churches around the eastern Mediterranean were more momentous for the future of the world than all the legions of the Roman Empire. Still more fantastic would it have seemed if Polycarp had affirmed that those churches would grow to be the greatest community of any kind that had ever emerged in all human history—a world-encircling universal church.

Polycarp would have been labeled lunatic; but he would have been absolutely right. A realistic survey of the subsequent history of Europe and then of the world would amply justify the claim that the ongoing free development of strength in those scattered Christian communities was of central strategic moment for the future of mankind.

We see this to be true of the past in the Western world. How can we, then, escape the two convictions that dominate this book? First, the scattered Christian churches in the Asia of today can bring tomorrow to the hundreds of millions for whom "old things are passing away" the living sap of a just and harmonious new order. Second, in this interdependent world, the fact that that church today is universal and is linked in cooperative thought, prayer, and action gives us higher hope of this achievement tomorrow than the early church could ever have entertained.

The so-called "realist" looks at the world-wide growth of the Christian community today and declares that we must discount its potency because we find in it so many flabby,

sleepy, self-centered members entangled in the net of the old order. Men also point to the disunity of the church, which so often paralyzes its action. The charges are true; but St. Paul made them against those early churches and in more scathing language than we care to use. Yet those early communities were the ones against whom the splendid crime was imputed: "These are the fellows who turned the world upside down."

Not only so, but today, for the first time in history, the scattered little younger churches—like these in Southeast Asia—are being woven into one seamless world tapestry of comradeship. Christian leaders in every nation understand as never before the revolutionary relevance of their faith to the total life of man everywhere. This is beginning to bring new strength to those churches. The finest Christian minds of all races and of many communions are now harnessed to the task of discovering the precise redemptive bearing of the Christian message on the evils in our political and industrial, interracial and international, life. To be blind to all this is to fail to see the meaning of the great new fact of our time—the universal church.

The majority of the non-Roman churches in almost all the lands on earth save Russia and Southeast Europe are now actively cooperating in regional and national Christian councils in Asia and Africa as well as in the West. For instance, in the area that is to be covered in this book, we find the Christian Council for the Netherlands Indies, the Philippine Federation of Evangelical Churches, the National Christian Council of Thailand, and the National Christian Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon, with their smaller regional councils such as the one in Burma. These, with more than a score of other similar councils covering all the continents, create the International Missionary Council of the whole world.

A moment's concentrated thought will show how pro-

foundly important it is for the future of the Southeast Asia Christians that they are thus woven into a world fabric. At the meeting in Madras of the International Missionary Council at Christmas, 1938, I met Thai Christians representing the National Christian Council of Thailand, Javanese representing that of the Netherlands Indies, Filipinos as delegates of the Philippine Federation of Evangelical Churches, and citizens of Burma who had sailed from Rangoon and Mandalay across the Bay of Bengal—all conversing at meals or discussing in groups, or sharing in the service of Holy Communion with Fijian, German, Australian, Brazilian, American, Maori, Norwegian, Finnish, African, and other Christians. In a sense so profound in its mystical reality that no words can express the consciousness, they knew—and therefore now know in spite of chasms of war or race—that they are branches of the one true Vine and that the living sap of Christ's quickening and saving grace flows through us all.

Nothing has shown so dramatically to the world how real that unity is as has the superb world-wide support of missions "orphaned" in Asia and Africa when cut off from all help from Europe by war. About twenty-five hundred German, Finnish, Dutch, Norwegian, Danish, Belgian, and French missionaries in Indonesia, the Pacific islands, Asia, and Africa were unable any longer to receive supplies from their homelands. Christian work among millions of church members and uncounted millions of non-Christians was imperiled.

The German missions in the Netherlands Indies, especially in Sumatra, with their hundreds of thousands of church members, are an outstanding example of such "orphaned missions." The International Missionary Council, working through its world headquarters in London and in New York and through many of its national and regional Christian councils, set to work to ask for support. American, Canadian, Australasian,

and British churches, the Norwegian government in exile in London, Indian, Chinese, and African Christians rallied swiftly to the support of the workers and the work.

Before the Japanese conquests in the Southwest Pacific put the Netherlands Indies for the time being beyond the aid of the universal church, some two hundred and fifty thousand dollars had been sent there to help the Christian church among the Batak peoples of Sumatra to sustain the educational and medical institutions and the missionary personnel. In the South Seas help was also given to leper work in the Celebes Isles, German and Dutch missions in New Guinea, and French missions in New Caledonia and Tahiti.

As Lord Halifax, speaking in America of these "orphaned missions," said, "To ignore the obligations of fellowship with those younger churches . . . would be at once failure and betrayal. For it would mean loss of hope and inspiration won through a common life in which peoples of all races may be united. We should be playing truant from a school where we can best learn many of the secrets essential to the building of the better world of our desires."

These Asiatic Christian communities and the missionaries who remained with them were cut off from any further help from the rest of the world by the conquests of Japan in the first half of 1942. Nevertheless, the very fact of that pressure quickens the memories of the precious fellowship that the Christians of Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Java, and the Philippines had with their fellows from all over the world at Madras. Not even war can ever cut them off from the living fellowship of "the holy church throughout all the world," which we can nourish through prayer to the Eternal Father of us all in whom "the whole family in heaven and earth" is one.

As we watch all these peoples passing through this great

ordeal, what is our deepest concern? Is it to see after the war our own commerce again drawing from their lands raw materials for our cars and other comforts? Is it to see old Western political and economic controls restored? Or is it to find a path along which all the peoples can move toward self-government without plunging their many minorities under new Asiatic despotisms? Is not God waiting to show us "a more excellent way"?

As I try to discern the concern that is, in the long run, of supreme importance, I can hear in my imagination the words of some Christian Asiatic leader who has shared the world-wide fellowship and the informed planning for the future at the International Missionary Council meeting at Madras in 1938.

"My first concern," he or she might say, "is for the million and a half Asiatic and Pacific island fellow-Christians who after Pearl Harbor were torn from a life in which religious freedom was sustained. They had to submit to a rule that has torn down the Ten Commandments from the walls of churches in Korea and other lands, because the first commandment, 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me,' denies the absolute divine preeminence of the emperor. Therefore, freedom from that Cæsarism, or, in other words, the future freedom of worship and of evangelism of those Christians, is my first concern. Nor is that a selfish concern for the Christians as a favorite group. It springs from my conviction that in the free spread of the Christian gospel lies the central hope of harmonious human relations and the sharing of the good life by all our different peoples. For among them the existing Christian communities alone have a common loyalty to the one Lord of Life across all chasms of nation or race and all barriers of language or culture, and they alone hold the one faith that gives us a pattern for world order and the power

to achieve it. So—as all world order must depend on the character of the persons who make it—that 'beloved society' can become in the future the mother of the persons who will help each nation and race to play its full creative rôle in the drama of world redemption—in the service of Him who says, 'Behold I make all things new.'"

Chapter Two

PEOPLES OF THE PAGODA:

BURMA, THAILAND, AND INDO-CHINA

Southeast Asia from the stratosphere bears a strange resemblance to the back of a titanic hand with the fingers pointed southward and their tips in the sea. The gnarled knuckles are the Himalayan edges of Tibet and the mountains and plateaus of western China. From these the fingers stretch down to make Burma, Thailand, Annam, and Tonkin. The fingers are forest-covered mountain ranges gradually tapering down into fruitful hills.

The grooves between the fingers are tropical rivers of a bewitching loveliness. The Irrawaddy runs southward through Burma in such majestic volume that the silt in its waters stains the seas for over eighty miles. The Sittang and the Salween also feed Burma, while Thailand, to their east, is watered by the Menam, whose canals make Bangkok "the Venice of Asia."

The mighty Mekong River, the middle reaches of which divide Thailand from Indo-China, flows through the Indo-Chinese provinces of Laos, Cambodia, and Cochin China by many mouths into the South China Sea. The Red River carries soil of that color from the mountains of the Yunnan province in southwestern China through the Indo-Chinese province of Tonkin.

Those silt-bearing rivers create fertile valleys and immense

deltas with soil so rich under the radiant sun that in all those lands famine need never touch any man. This offers one part of the answer to the question of energetic Westerners—"Why are the Burmese, the Thai, the Annamese, so easy-going?" Their lack of strenuous industry is a main reason why many streets in Rangoon or Bangkok carry the visitor into China and India, so thoroughly have the merchants, craftsmen, and money-lenders of those countries elbowed aside the nationals in their homelands.

The glint of the sun on the golden pinnacle of a pagoda fascinates the eye of the traveler as he sails up any of those river deltas. He sees the superb Shwe Dagon pagoda in Rangoon, its lovely rising rhythm of curved lotus-bud turrets leading the eye upward to the towering golden conical summit. In every city the skyline is thus silhouetted with pagodas.

If the traveler penetrates along country paths into the multitude of villages with their rice-cultivating peasant inhabitants, he will discover one or two pagodas attached to each of the countless villages. These are small, solid structures of red or whitened brick, with perhaps a gilt spike at the top. Every Buddhist in these lands aspires to acquire merit as the builder of a new pagoda.

What the church spire or tower is to the Christian world of the West, and the slim pencil-shaped minaret of the mosque is to the spreading House of Islam, the pagoda is to the Buddhist peoples. It stands as the architectural symbol of the system and the practices that unite them; it calls the faithful, and even beckons the pagan, to the place of prayer.

The traveler who presses on into the hill country in all these lands, however, will discover multitudes of villages in which not a single pagoda is to be seen. In many of these villages no temple of any kind is to be found; the people are

animists—spirit worshippers. In many Christian villages neat bamboo churches stand in the heart of the community.

Close by each pagoda in Buddhist cities and larger towns is a monastery. A group of boys seated cross-legged on the ground face a monk, his head shaven, his body wrapped in a faded yellow robe. He chants a phrase in the ancient Pali tongue from the scriptures of Buddhism, the *sutras*, or from the universally popular book of "beatitudes." In unison the boys shout this Pali sentence back to the monk, who calls out the meaning in Burmese or Thai or whatever the local language is. Thus the sayings of Buddhism are engraved on the boys' memories.

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An intelligent *hpongyi* (monk) will now stimulate the boys' hero-worship by a legend of the young Prince Gautama, who was born in a royal palace in North India in the sixth century before Christ. The boys learn the old tales of his many adventures through which he won victory over successive enemies who tried to destroy his body and corrupt his soul. At last he received the Supreme Enlightenment under the Bo tree near Benares, thereby becoming Buddha, "the Enlightened One." A more strenuous exercise for the boys' minds comes when they must try to grasp the meaning of the "Three Jewels" of Buddhism: the Buddha, the order of monks, and the Teachings.

If we set ourselves to grasp the central ideas that Gautama taught, we shall come face to face with a baffling enigma that has split his hundreds of millions of followers into two camps. The dilemma springs straight out of Gautama's root ideas. We live, he taught, in a world of suffering; therefore we must try to escape from the torment of consciousness. To compass this we must quench desire, cut loose from human attachments. A favorite Buddhist picture portrays the episode where Gautama, without any feeling, turns his back forever on his

wife and small son—a great stage forward on the path of escape.

At the end of that path is Nirvana. Many Buddhists frankly admit that this is simply the cessation of consciousness—the annihilation of personality. Others call it "a future state of bliss," although the founder's teaching does not use such positive words. Western interpreters speak of "the great peace." The Buddhist, after a long procession of rebirths and by continually storing up merit by right deeds, attitudes, and meditation, can be absorbed into the shoreless, motionless ocean of pure being—or, as seems more accurate, pure non-being. Gautama taught no worship or prayer, for he did not believe in any conscious divine being to be adored or to be approached for strength and guidance. He himself has become the object of worship, for man everywhere must pray to a person.

To use Dr. Albert Schweitzer's distinction, Buddhism is "life-denying," while Christianity is "life-affirming." To the Buddhist the motive for living the good life is self-regarding. He does good in order to store merit that will open the door for himself into Nirvana.

Clearly, for all mankind to follow the way of Buddha literally would mean extinction of the human race; for if no attachments were formed, no families would be born. This is the enigma that has split Buddhism in two directions. The Buddhists in Tibet, China, and Japan follow a form of doctrine called "The Large Vehicle"—the *Mahayana* path—which opens a much wider road to Nirvana than Gautama defined. Much of this teaching he would certainly reject. The Buddhists of Southeast Asia, however, follow "The Little Vehicle," the *Hinayana* path. This teaches a double morality. The begging monk is to live a celibate life in strict accord with Gautama's teaching, getting rid of all attachments. But

the monk, in order to live, must depend for support on people who do not follow the Path. The multitude of ordinary people, therefore, go on their way producing children and absorbed by their desires and by the demands involved in the whole round of human relationships.

Unfortunately, the majority of monks are not notable for absorption in the Unseen. Some eighty thousand are found in Burma alone. No test of character is made on taking the yellow robe. The All Burma Buddhist Council, for instance, demanded in recent years that the Burmese government abolish the law that calls for equal obedience by monks and laymen to law and to law courts. The government replied with the sardonic suggestion that the Council "devote themselves to the task of persuading members of the Buddhist priesthood to abstain from offending against the law of the land."

The peasants and city workers, in order to acquire merit and avoid the ill will of the monks, put food and money in their begging bowls. Educated people in Buddhist lands often call the monks "the yellow peril." Each nation feels the economic drain of feeding hundreds of thousands of them as well as obeying their insistence on building pagodas. "The pagoda is built, the village is ruined," is a common peasant saying.

Every boy in the Buddhist communities in these lands goes through the hands of the priests in the most malleable years of his life. This gives the monks a powerful and subtle hold, especially on the peasants and the simpler city workers. The young boy goes to one of the thousands of little monastery schools. Later he puts on the yellow robe and lives for a time in the monastery under absolute control of the monks. Only when he has graduated after this discipline is he regarded as a full citizen to go into the world as a farmer, craftsman, or fisherman, and to marry. He will rarely shake off the impress

thus made, not only upon his mind but upon his subconscious fears and hopes.

In recent years the monks in Burma have given energy to nationalist propaganda. This creates a serious obstacle in the path of Christianity. The monks drive home the double slogan, "Burma for the Burmese,"[1] and "To be a Burmese is to be a Buddhist."

A similar spirit pervades Thailand, where the royal splendor of the kings' patronage has strengthened the identification of patriotism with Buddhism and makes it almost treason to forsake Buddhism for Christianity. Buddhism in these countries is "Burma custom," or "Thai custom." Bitter taunts of being "unpatriotic" often assail the Christian. In the months before Japan occupied Thailand, fascist Thai "quislings" were far more cruelly anti-Christian than the Japanese administration has been since. These attitudes make Buddhism in Southeast Asia as stubborn a citadel against the advance of Christianity as is Islam in some other lands.

In nearly every Buddhist home we find a little shrine. It is not really Buddhist, but the survival of an ancient animism. This is the resting place of the spirit, the *nat*, that protects the household. Prayers are said and offerings made to this *nat* every day, whereas the folk in the house normally go to the pagoda only once a week. The well-being of everyone in the house depends on the *nat* being kept in a good humor. Sickness, accident, poverty, and all manner of misfortune will come upon them if he is neglected and gets angry.

We discover animism or spirit worship among the majority of Buddhists. The peoples of these lands were all animists be-

[1] The word "Burmese" is used throughout this book for the inhabitants of Burma collectively; the words "Karen" and "Burman" are used when it is necessary to distinguish between these two separate sections of the population.

fore Buddhism came into this Indo-Chinese peninsula following the missionary campaign launched from India in 307 B.C. by the Buddhist King Asoka. A second missionary effort in the second century after the birth of Christ brought Brahmanic and animist corruptions with Buddhism. Spirit worship thus fills a large place still all over Southeast Asia. The Buddha, as represented in his statues, is compassionate, but absorbed and remote; the household *nat* is intimate and concerned with small affairs. The many-colored merry festivals that have been built up with the pagodas as the center express a joy and a zest for lusty living remote from Gautama's doctrine that all life is suffering and that the goal is escape.

Spirit-worshipping people, quite untouched by Buddhism, are found in all these lands and especially on delta lands and hill forests remote from the cities. Most of the more than 680,000 Christians in Burma and those in Thailand and in Indo-China belong to these tribal peoples. For instance, out of 548,000 non-Roman Catholic Christian adherents in Burma not more than 8,000 are of Buddhist background. The majority of the Christians are Karens of the hills and the delta. Of the 69,000 Christians in Thailand, only 15,000 are Protestant. Of these more than three-quarters are related to the American Presbyterian mission, especially among the hill peoples of the north near the fringes of China.

Presb.

To watch the entrance of the gospel into Burma gives us a living picture of Christian advance among all these peoples.

When the twenty-five-year-old Adoniram Judson, with his beautiful wife Ann, after seventeen months of sailing from America, at last crossed to Rangoon in the drenching monsoon rains of July, 1813, the blunt Spanish customs officer vehemently advised him to get out while still alive. The shifty, bandy-legged despot king—"the Golden Presence"—he said,

had just tortured to the brink of death a Portuguese priest. Felix Carey, son of William Carey, exclaimed, "The king owns all men. They are his slaves. He plunders, murders, tortures at will. Buddhism keeps him in power. He refuses to let Christianity be taught, for it upholds the rights of man."

When Judson stoutly replied that this proved the immense need of Burma for the gospel, Carey grimly retorted that a dead man with his widow in the king's harem would not do much to spread the gospel. Backed by the American Baptist Mission Board that first came into being under their stimulus, the Judsons refused to turn back. They conquered obstacles that would have baffled all save the most selfless heroic spirits. The mere catalogue of them still astonishes us: The task of learning the ancient Pali and modern Burmese without a dictionary. The labor of translating one gospel after another into Burmese. The toil of setting them in type on a primitive press imported from India. The intermittent sicknesses from fever. The death of their baby boy. The natural refusal of the Burmese to listen to teaching that, if they accepted it, would probably entail being trampled to death by elephants at the king's command or being subjected to agonizing tortures.

The climax came when on Sunday, May 23, 1824, the king's executioner rushed in after Judson had finished preaching his sermon and, fastening the torture cord around his neck and arms, dragged him through the streets to the prison, ominously called the "Hand Shrink Not." There they hung him up by the legs so that only his head and shoulders touched the loathsomely filthy floor. The Burmese king had gone to war with Britain and regarded all white men as enemies. So Judson was cast into this foul dungeon.

After a year in prison during which Judson was kept alive by Ann's visits that cost large gifts to the jailer, he was taken out to be buried alive at a celebration in honor of an army

general. Suddenly the general was disgraced by the king's whim, tortured and trampled to death by elephants, and Judson was dragged back from the jaws of death to be imprisoned once more.

To his amazement he was called out by the king in February, 1826, after twenty-one months in prison. The king asked his advice as to whether he should sign a treaty with the British, with whom he had been at intermittent war for two years. The king, whose respect was illustrated by his addressing Judson as "truth-telling Jesus Christ's man," accepted the missionary's advice to sign the treaty. He set the missionary free.

Left desolate in the year of his liberation by the death of his wife, that heroine of Christian fortitude, Judson labored till 1840 to complete his translation of the whole Bible in Burmese. His autograph in that Bible, as I gazed at it a hundred years later at Andover-Newton Seminary near Boston, and the knowledge that in the year 1939 ninety thousand copies of that very translation were sold in Burma, stirred an admiring reverence for Judson and a sense of wonder at the ongoing tide of his influence across the centuries.

One day an intimate Burmese Christian friend of Judson's brought to him a wild-looking tribesman of the Karen people named Ko Tha Byu. This Burmese Christian had, by a miracle of grace, risen so far above the then universal loathing of the Burmans for the primitive Karens that he had bought this man's freedom from slavery. Ko Tha Byu was a brigand who had committed at least ten murders. Dr. Judson took him into his care although—as Judson himself later found—he had a "diabolical" temper.

May 16, 1828, when Ko Tha Byu was baptized by Dr. Boardman, Judson's younger colleague, was the birthday of the Karen Baptist church, which now numbers some four

hundred thousand. Byu launched himself into a life work of incessant and burning evangelism. He would recall to his astonished listeners the Karen prophecy that some day "a white brother" would come bringing the book in which the "Creator of Man" had spoken his will to man. Then he would tell of the coming of the white man with the Book, with its teaching of the Son of God who died for the saving of men. Byu, the ex-murderer brigand, brought over a thousand Karens into the church.

Burman persecution and opposition checked but never stopped the growth of the Karen church. At last, as the outstanding Christian Karen leader, Thra Chit Maung, told the International Missionary Council at Madras in 1938, "With the foothold of the British secure on the Burmese soil, bringing with it religious freedom, just administration of the land, and equal political status to all subjects, the progress of the Karen church and community has not looked back." [2]

Jonathan Wade reduced the Karen language to writing for the first time. Dr. Francis Mason translated the whole Bible into that Karen language. The adventurous launching of the Karen church took place under the leadership of Dr. Justus Hatch Vinton. After a battle of wills between rival policies, the church achieved its early self-support. The recent growth of Bible schools and of agricultural training centered at the famous Pyinmana institute, and the development of Karen girls as first-class nurses are further stages in a miraculous growth through personal and group conversion and community transformation for which the Baptist supporters in America may well thank God.

[2] The heart-stirring story of the Karen church of Burma and its organization are described by Principal Thra Chit Maung in *The Growing Church* (Vol. II of Madras Series, based on Meeting of the International Missionary Council at Madras, India, in 1938. New York, International Missionary Council, 1939).

The Thai nation is unique in Southeast Asia in having not only common blood but a common language and a single faith. It was a hermit kingdom until it was led by the English-speaking peoples after the middle of the nineteenth century into the stream of world-contacts. The fact that the royal family sent its princes for generations to Oxford and Cambridge for education led to the welcoming of many Western elements into the social, educational, and political life of the land. Paradoxically enough, this has strengthened the hold of Buddhism upon Thailand, for it has led the kings to present splendid libraries of Buddhist scriptures and literature to the monasteries and universities and to hold, with much pageantry, triennial national examinations in the Buddhist *sutras*.

Christian missionaries, British, American, and German, reached Siam (renamed Thailand on the wave of twentieth-century nationalism) as early as 1828, but their main aim was to reach the Chinese at a time when the doors of China proper were barred.

By introducing into Siam in the early years of the present century the graded modern education of the West, American and British missionaries equipped some of the finest of the younger citizens for public life. Under Dr. Walter Allen Zimmerman's leadership the Young Men's Christian Association won royal collaboration and wide popularity in citizenship training. The enlightened kings collaborated with all efforts by the missionaries in their schools and medical services. Christian education gave a model on which the government developed its colleges to train Buddhist monks and laymen in teaching principles and methods.

When Thailand came under Japan in 1942 about one and a half million Chinese lived there. Of these, 525,000 were immigrants and 1,000,000 were born in the land. As all children born in Thailand have Thai citizenship, about a million chil-

dren of Chinese ancestry have that status. Early in the present century many of the industrious, commercially minded Chinese immigrants married Thai women and won a major place in the internal economy of Thailand, particularly in the rice and fishing trade. This did not greatly trouble the Thai people at that time.

The success of China's new and increasingly potent national government at Nanking in the second quarter of the century, however, made the Chinese in Thailand nationalistically Chinese. Many Chinese schools failed to obey the Thai law that insisted on some teaching in the Thai language, which, in fact, most of them were not equipped to give. The Chinese sent most of their wealth back to China. The Thai, who simultaneously had developed deep national feeling, argued that the Chinese now showed a greater loyalty toward China than toward Thailand. Thus came a rift in the harmony that had prevailed between these two peoples of similar race—the Thai and the Chinese.

The Thai national revolution of 1932 elbowed out of power the Western-minded royal house and replaced it by middle-class military leaders and commercially minded apprentice-politicians. These in their natural desire for an economically independent Thailand passed legislation that imposed some severe restrictions upon the Chinese.

Having broken with London's sterling exchange, Thailand in the summer of 1941 was obliged to yoke her currency to the Tokyo *yen*. The Japanese, too, played on Thai desire to recover the lost provinces of Laos and Cambodia. These had been incorporated by France in her colony of Indo-China, which was in turn taken over by the Japanese after the fall of France in 1940. A tiny group of "quislings" startled the Thai nation and the world by toppling their land into the Japanese net in December, 1941. As departing Americans hur-

ried to the railroad station, Thai crowds shouted, "Come back to our aid." Postwar Thailand may desire to welcome back its king, now growing to manhood through enlightened adolescence in democratic Switzerland, in preference to the dictator-minded "quislings" who had seized control.

The growth of the Christian community in Thailand has naturally been slow. No resistance to Christian advance is so powerful as that of an ancient faith like Hinduism or Buddhism when the force of Christian example has inspired its leadership with new ethical principles. The ten thousand members of the Church of Christ in Thailand include Chinese as well as Thai Christians. This church is predominantly the fruit of the work of American Presbyterian missionaries.

From small beginnings among the Chinese in Bangkok in 1840, the American Presbyterian Mission (North) turned its attention over a decade later to the Thai people and pressed northward into the Lao states fringing southwest China. Heroic martyrdom of Christians under persecution aroused protest that led in 1878 to a royal "proclamation of religious liberty." The widely scattered stations of this mission cover almost two-thirds of Thailand, inhabited by half the nation's population. The missionaries are agreed that a more closely related strategy as between the too isolated stations is called for, concentrating on building a stronger Thai leadership and reshaping the Christian approach to educated Buddhist youth. The more recent advance of the Christian and Missionary Alliance into the vast plain of eastern Thailand, near their fruitful work in Indo-China, directs attention to millions of primitive rice-growing peasants living in previously unknown regions that have now been opened by bus and train.[3]

[3] The story of Nai Boon in Chapter Nine of this book illustrates characteristics of Thai Christians and the remarkable contribution of the American Bible Society in Thailand.

When the invasion by Japan started, the Western missionaries expressed their wish to stay in Thailand to render what service was possible. The governor of the northern province—as is reported by the ambassador of Free Thailand in Washington—"urged them to depart with many expressions of appreciation. He said that if Thailand were free, the people would more than welcome the services of the missionaries, but now that the country was taken over by the Japanese they would rather see their benefactors safe outside their own borders." This, says the ambassador, "well expressed the sentiments of the Thai people." Many missionaries accordingly left through Burma. Over forty, however, twenty-six of whom were American Presbyterians, were interned in the Bangkok camp, but most of them were subsequently repatriated.

Moving eastward to Indo-China, the fact that only an infant Protestant church and a rather backward although numerous Roman Catholic community exist there is due to conditions in France at the time when she built her new empire in Asia as a means of recovering self-respect after her dire defeat in 1870 by Germany. "Unguided and self-divided," republican France lacked both the nerve and the sense of colonizing mission necessary for successful guidance and development of the peoples whose control she assumed. She pushed her way into Cochin China, Annam, and Tonkin, wresting them from the nerveless protection of Peking. Then she moved northwestward toward a paralyzed Siam, which watched France swallow her eastern provinces, Cambodia and Laos. France tied these principalities loosely into one bundle that she called French Indo-China.

The twenty-four million people in Indo-China are far from being one culturally. In the hill country the forest-dwelling tribes are primitive spirit worshippers. These people, number-

ing over a million and speaking over a hundred and fifty dialects, live in fear of spirits and of neighboring tribes. They are almost untouched by Buddhist or by Confucian influence or by the call of the European colonizer for labor. To the southeast the Annamese and the people of Cochin China grow rice on the sprawling plains of rich silted soil and get their civilization straight from China. Although the masses are steeped in spirit worship, the culture of their educated minority is rooted in the Confucian classics. In sharp contrast are the peoples of the western provinces of Laos and Cambodia. They drank in their culture from the Buddhist scriptures, recited in the schools at the foot of the pagoda by Thai monks.

In Indo-China the world-famous sculptured masses of the temple of Angkor, which six hundred years ago was the core of a Hindu city of a million people, emphasizes the phantom transience of any power or faith that fails to root itself in the hearts and minds of a people.

Paris decreed that education in Indo-China should convey secular scientific knowledge in the French language, to create an élite Asiatic leadership assimilated to French culture and ways of life. Transient French place-hunting officials, neither knowing nor caring anything as to the life of the land, employed untrained, underpaid teachers. Anti-clericals in French politics checked but did not stop Roman Catholic expansion, which had gone on languidly for three hundred years. The Roman Catholic hierarchy, however, induced governors to put up bars against the entry of Protestant missions into Indo-China.

The result was disastrous. French education disrupted the traditional Confucian schools in the eastern provinces, but the type of education that they substituted served to do little more than glue a veneer of European culture upon a thin, shifty, office-seeking Asiatic layer sawn off from their ancient

culture and customs. A French lieutenant-governor succinctly declared, as to Cochin China, that "a few hundred natives could speak French adequately. A few thousand could gabble it well enough to earn a living as servants, cooks, coolies, and so on, and the rest were more illiterate than their fathers had been before the French occupation. Meanwhile the curves of crime and European education rose concurrently." [4]

Because the French administration was so sporadic, the western provinces—Cambodia and Laos—were left to go on undisturbed with their Buddhist monastic schools, which have survived with little damage but with no stimulus.

With the official severance of church from state in France early this century, the bar to Protestant missionaries was let down. The Christian and Missionary Alliance of America entered Indo-China and set to work with vigor and resourcefulness to carry evangelism among the animist hill tribes and among the multitudes in the rice fields of Cochin China. A central feature of their work in this as in other fields is the holding of periodic Bible schools. Converts who show gleams of potential leadership thus increase their knowledge of the Scriptures and their grasp of the meaning of the gospel. In these provinces of Annam and Cochin China, a Protestant Christian community has come to birth in over a score of different tribal groups. When the Japanese overran Indo-China, at least fifteen thousand Protestant church members were being ministered to by two hundred Asiatic pastors and teachers, of whom sixty were ordained, working among scattered congregations, guided by over thirty missionaries of the Alliance. For every Protestant in Indo-China we find at least a hundred and fifty Roman Catholic Christians, mainly illiterate.

[4] *Domination et Colonisation,* by Jules Harmand, Paris, 1910. Quoted in *Educational Progress in Southeast Asia,* by John S. Furnivall, p. 40. New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943.

Throughout Southeast Asia in every land old customs and the Buddhist faith are disturbed by the inrush of nationalism and secularism. Buddhism fused with patriotism challenges the universal church to a new presentation of the eternal gospel. It sets political, educational, and economic problems for all who desire to help these peoples to share freedom and responsibility within a harmonious world order. In every land, furthermore, the peasants feel the impact of mechanistic commercialism shaking their fragile animist beliefs and ways of life. In every land, too, a new minority of nationals have been educated by the Western newcomers in local and national government, commerce, and industry. Trained to grasp power and money, many of them, as we have seen in Thailand, for example, would tend to create corrupt dictatorships as soon as their nations are self-governing. They reveal the supreme need for a new Asiatic leadership whose moral attitudes and efficient aptitudes would equip them for the immense tasks that these peoples face in the postwar world.

All through Southeast Asia, finally, the Christian community exists as a minority whose actual and potential strength and significance for the future are greatly in advance of its numerical proportion to the total population and whose educated leadership would be of incalculable value to their nations and to the world. In the postwar world a shrewdly and adventurously revised program of Christian advance and a quickened sharing of fellowship in the Holy Spirit can lead to undreamed-of expansion if, with single-minded devotion to the kingdom of God, we fuse our denominational plans in a shared strategy.

Chapter Three

PEOPLES OF THE MOSQUE:

INDONESIA AND MALAYA

Before the dawn of history intrepid brown fishermen and traders hoisted mat sails on their bamboo masts to venture out from the tropical estuaries of Southeast Asia along the palm-fringed jungle coasts of the greatest archipelago in the world. To wrest a livelihood from the sea and the soil, they pressed into every creek and landed on every beach along the thousands of miles of shores of the islands of Sumatra, Java, Bali, the Celebes, and the Moluccas. Sometimes called the Netherlands Indies, the archipelago has now been given by the Dutch government the simple title of Indonesia. The narrow Malay peninsula, which juts out from the mass of Southeast Asia, escapes from being an island in the archipelago by the accident of a narrow isthmus. By race, by commerce, and by religion, however, Malaya belongs to that island world. Singapore is an island off the tip of Malaya.

The one race scattered over all Indonesia is that composite people of mysterious origin and vast dispersion—the Malays. In the heart of all the islands the Malays are darker and stockier through their blend with Negroid groups. On the coastal plains they are slighter in build, lighter brown in color, and with straighter black hair. The gentle beauty of the Malays, their grace in movement and unhurried ease of dignified manner are often not appreciated at their true value by bustling

Western planters and governors who scornfully talk of their "laziness" and "unintelligence." Longer experience teaches that, in the tropics, Western hustle may lead not to efficiency but to an early grave; and that more intelligence may be hidden under the Malayan's soft-spoken courtesy than is expressed in Western bluntness.

Hindu and Buddhist merchants and priests sailed along these island shores from India hundreds of years before and after the birth of Christ. From majestic temples, whose ruins today stagger our imagination by their magnificence, Hindu and Buddhist worship dominated the islands but never rooted out the old spirit worship of the peasant people.

About six hundred years ago a stream of swarthy merchant sailors began coming from Arabia and Moslem India. These confident, aggressive Moslems shattered the Hindu-Buddhist domination of the archipelago, first bringing the western tip of Sumatra under their virile rule. Their descendants in Sumatra are some of the most fanatical Moslems now living. Crossing the strait to the Malayan peninsula, they set up petty Islamic sultanates in each river valley. Moving eastward along the island coasts by Java, they skipped past Bali, which remains a Hindu stronghold, to the coasts of Borneo, the Celebes, and the Moluccas. At last the cry, "Great is Allah and Mohammed is his prophet," sounded on the southern group of what later became known as the Philippine Islands.

Sailing from opposite directions round the world into the archipelago in the early years of the sixteenth century, Spanish and Portuguese adventurers collided in the harbors of "the islands of spices." They tormented the heart of that superb apostle of the Cross, Saint Francis Xavier, by their cruel extortions. "They conjugate the verb 'to rob' in every mood," he lamented in a letter to his friends. A baleful fusion of religious aggression, political imperialism, and commercial rapac-

ity poisoned the islanders' minds against the Christian faith in this first advance of Western Christendom into the Indonesian archipelago.

Pushing their sturdy ships hardily into this melee, Protestant Dutch merchants elbowed the Roman Catholic Spanish and Portuguese out of the archipelago by the middle of the seventeenth century and the United Dutch East India Company developed a virtual monopoly of trade in Indonesia. Order and security are essential for successful trading. To protect the Moslem sultans from each other and to protect its own ships' cargoes and the peasant producers from all of them, the Company gradually brought the sultans under control.

The Dutch East India Company was too much absorbed in money-making to strengthen the forces of Christianity at that time. Islam became the dominant faith of the islands, although many millions remained, as they are today, pagan spirit worshippers. When the Netherlands government took control from the Company in the nineteenth century, a wave of fiery, intolerant Islam made the European rulers hesitate to make their Christian attitude explicit. The Dutch in Holland "leaned over backward" in their colonial policy of religious neutrality, striving to avoid giving offence to Moslem sultans.

The peculiar rôle played by Islam in Indonesia among peoples saturated by a strange blend of native animism and imported Hinduism can be better understood if we cast our minds back to the deserts of Arabia at the beginning of the seventh century.

When young Mohammed retired into a cave outside Mecca, he brooded gloomily over the gross worship by the Arabs of whole battalions of idols and fetishes. To him the enemy was animism. So his simple creed was born—"There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah." As his in-

fluence grew and his followers became a great military force, Mohammed divided the human race into two houses: the House of Islam—those who submit to the will of Allah; and the House of War—those who resist and must either be made to submit or be slain. Within the House of Islam all male Moslems of whatever race (today some two hundred and forty millions, mainly in Asia and Africa) are equal members of one brotherhood.

In the late nineteenth century, specially chartered pilgrim ships began to carry tens of thousands of Indonesians (mostly Javanese) from Batavia and Singapore up the Red Sea to Jiddah, the port for Medina, where they went to prostrate themselves at the tomb of Mohammed, and then on to Mecca. With the tidal wave of prosperity that the immense world demand for rubber brought to Indonesia, the number of pilgrims rose to a Himalayan peak about 1925. Fifty thousand Indonesian Moslem pilgrims went to Mecca in one year. This equaled the total pilgrimage from all the rest of the Islamic world. A marked decline in numbers coincided with the world economic depression. Over ten thousand Javanese live today in a colony suburb of Mecca, and in peace time sustain steady contact with Indonesian Islam.

Religious fervor is whipped up on a ship crammed with Moslems all traveling toward the central place of their world-worship. This zeal is intensified at Mecca. The Javanese pilgrim carries out his ceremonial at Mecca in company with Indian, Persian, Arabian, Egyptian, Tunisian, Algerian, Afghan, and Sudanese Moslems. Pride in this cosmopolitan freemasonry of all races in "the Brotherhood of Islam" glows in his heart. Nevertheless, by and large the forty million Javanese Moslems are the laxest in the world in regard to the five daily prayers commanded by Mohammed. In Indonesia, also, the previously high place and large liberty possessed by women

have defied Mohammed's efforts to perpetuate the domination of man over woman. The amusing paradox exists among some Sumatran Mohammedans, where matriarchy prevails, that the sheikh who rules the Moslem family or clan is a woman!

One relic of Hinduism in present-day Javanese Islam is the prestige of the *guru*, the saintly sage. The Moslem *guru* gathers a primitive *ashram* of Moslem disciples, who cultivate and grind their own rice and go with the familiar Hindu begging bowl round the villages. They memorize parts of the Koran and the Tradition—the subsequent interpretations—and the simpler elements of Moslem law. They earn their keep by chanting formulae to chase the demons of sickness from men and animals—formulae that oddly blend the primitive pagan and the Hindu with Arab traditions, and are enough to make the animist-hating Mohammed turn in his grave.

Blind submission to the austere will of the one, invisible, absolute Allah never has satisfied the hunger and thirst of the Indonesian soul. Although thousands of tombs of Moslem *walis*—legendary pioneer saints who brought Islam to the islands—are covered with offerings given in prayer for success in love, for the birth of a male child, or for a high grade in a government examination for an official appointment, much Hindu influence shines also in the mystical theosophist Javanese Islamic literature. This literature is shockingly heretical from the orthodox Islamic point of view, but it is eagerly read by many of the two or three million Indonesian Moslems who are literate. The other thirty-eight million Moslems in Java cannot read.

Their muddled mental outlook is illustrated by the experience of an eminent Dutch scholar, Professor Krom. He was gazing recently at the thousand-year-old statue of Durga, a personification of the consort of Shiva, the Hindu destroyer-

creator god, which still stands among the ruins of an ancient Hindu temple in Java. He saw a Javanese Moslem farmer drive two goats up the hill and sacrifice them before this goddess, whom the peasants still call "the slender maiden." The farmer was ignorant of two facts that open a window into the religious life of the Indonesian. First, in making a blood offering to an idol, this Moslem, in all innocence, was committing the sin against which Mohammed's fight was most fiercely concentrated. And, second, this twentieth-century Moslem peasant, in sacrificing goats to Durga, was offering to her exactly the same animal on the same spot and for the same purpose as his Hindu forefather had done in the tenth century.

Does this mean that the ways of the Indonesian, or of any Oriental or any peasant people, cannot be changed? If so, of what use is it to carry any new message to them? The answer is fundamental for those who believe that in the good news of the Christian faith is the spring of new life for these, as for all, people.

That present-day Javanese Moslem farmer was practising an ancient Hindu-animist rite of sacrifice because his father had told him that to forsake that custom would bring disaster on him. He was, in the colloquial phrase, "playing safe." Thirty successive illiterate fathers and sons passing that tradition on from each to the next would bridge the thousand years from, say, 940 to 1940. That Hindu custom was created by a Hindu invading ruler who built the now ancient temple. He swung the animist worship of the primitive Javanese from his crude fetish to the new image of Durga; but it was still animism. Then some six or seven centuries later, the Moslem invading ruler, as sultan, commanded the illiterate Javanese to worship Allah. No inner change of heart or even of mind was worked by these almost wholly external pressures. So the peasant today goes on placating the whims of unseen demonic spirits.

Under orders in successive centuries he calls the spirit Durga, Shiva, Buddha, and Allah; but he still sheds the goat's blood to secure good will from a spirit that will—he hopes—give him good crops. Have we any reason to think that he will ever have any different attitude if he calls the spirit "Jehovah" or even "Our Father"?

Two tides of influence, one religious, one largely secular, are working simultaneously to create real change in the minds and spirits of the people.

First, deep-seated change is coming to pass because the Christian faith is not accepted by external command. The inner compulsion of the word of God, which the myriads of literate church members can and do read for themselves in their Bibles, and whose meaning is expounded by their own pastors and teachers, works as leaven within the conscience and the mind of the people. Conscious worship of the Creator of the Universe who is the Father of all, and whose goodness and love are seen in the face of Jesus Christ, does in the long run "cast out the demons" of spirit fear. The teaching and community life by which this comes to pass will be watched in later chapters. This tide of change is creative. The possession of the Christian scriptures in their own tongue and the ability to read the Bible are fundamental, if demon worship is to be cast out.

The second influence of change is mainly secular, through the constructive as well as the destructive forces of nationalism, of communism, and of our mechanistic mercantile civilization. Pilgrims returning from Mecca in recent years have brought back ferments of nationalism from Moslem Egypt, Iran, and India. They have drunk the heady wines of the Pan-Arabic and Pan-Islamic movements that aim at uniting all Arab or all Moslem peoples to throw off from their shoulders the economic as well as the political yokes of Western

control. Islam from the start, they say, was a conqueror's faith. Moslems must in future, as in the past, be the rulers and not the subject peoples. A surging wave of this Islamic tide of self-determination swept the literate youth of Indonesia from 1925 onward for some years.

That nationalist Moslem tide from Mecca and Egypt swept into Indonesia, and then ebbed, but it left its permanent deposit of the will to self-government. Fresh incoming waters then flowed from Moscow. Mohammed's Koran was laid aside for Marx's *Capital*. Then Mohammed and Marx came into the strangest alliance with each other and with nationalism. Young Moslem Indonesians ingeniously adjusted the Soviet idea and practice to the clan-communism that has always held Indonesian society together. Thus nationalism and communism worked as double ferments in Mohammedan Indonesians.

The success of Ibn Saud in building a strong, independent Moslem Arabia; the setting up of a Moslem king on a new Iraq throne in Bagdad; the Moslem nationalist revival in Iran under Riza Shah Pahlavi; and the creation of the new self-governing Moslem kingdom in Egypt were all debated in the cafés of Java alongside Stalin's success in creating a mighty socialist state, which embraces 20,000,000 Moslems among its 180,000,000 inhabitants. These ferments are, as we see, social, political, and economic at one and the same time, and they all work in Indonesian communal life.

The rural-group communal pattern is actually the longest-lived principle of social and economic life among the Indonesian peoples. The traveler entering an Indonesian village today finds its people sharing joint responsibility for the common upkeep of farmhouses, barns, fields, fishponds, and neighboring woods. If crime is committed and the culprit is undiscovered, all members are corporately responsible until the felon is found. Each family is given by the community through

the headman the right to the enjoyment of the fruits of a plot of soil so long as they cultivate it. If and when that family ceases so to use that soil, its control goes back to the communal group. The family works the plot not for profit but for subsistence. The headman of each communal group is the "keeper of traditions and customs." Nowhere on earth is a subtler and juster rationing system at work than that by which the Indonesian small farmers of rice measure out communally the water from the mill-streams and from the vast reservoirs that store the monsoon rains. The precious waters are conveyed through an intricate pattern of tiny dykes so that not a gallon of the prized liquid runs to waste.

The problem of the Dutch administration has been to develop personal responsibility without breaking down this priceless heritage of community conscience. Our world demand for rubber, rice, palm oil, and other products of the Indonesian soil and labor would obviously smash that pattern disastrously if the Dutch government did not act as a sort of concussion guard or buffer between the Western planter avid for profit on crops and this Indonesian communal village system. The responsibility for seeing that American, European, and British economic demands for raw materials are not allowed to tear this delicate communal fabric to shreds extends to every Western church member who owns a share in rubber or in tin mines or other concerns doing business across the Pacific Ocean. This issue, which is vital for world peace and central for the Christian conscience, we shall examine later in its world perspective.[1]

This leads us straight into the problem of self-government for the Indonesian people. Millions of warm-hearted, liberal-minded Western humanitarian citizens take it for granted that in order that the Indonesians should achieve freedom, the

[1] See Chapter Nine.

Western ruler—in this case, the Netherlands government—must straightway leave the land to the people.

When Holland reduced the sultans from independence to dependence, however, the people's essential freedom was definitely increased. Holland introduced for the first time in Indonesian history a measure of "government *for* the people," instead of "*for* the sultan." Inevitably the spread of education in Indonesia, which the Dutch decisively initiated between 1880 and 1915, and the consequent leavening of nationalism and communism already described, led to a demand for "government *by* the people." The demand was voiced by a section of that literate middle group of nationals who have been trained by Europeans in commercial or in government offices. We have already seen them in Burma and Indo-China.

The vast majority of Indonesians, however, are still illiterate; these have not even the glimmer of either the idea or the practice of democratic government on the principle of representatives elected by the votes of the people, which in recent centuries has become familiar in the West.[2] Probably all Asiatic peoples will build democracy on the principle of the representation of occupational and other groups, more or less on the Soviet model. If Indonesia is to move toward any type of democratic government, three important developments must take place. First stands an educated, humane minority of growing integrity capable of such ethical standards of citizenship as will equip them for leadership. Second is a worldwide international organization, wielding adequate power to maintain protection from outward attack, and making it pos-

[2] Nor is that principle yet in even relatively successful practice anywhere outside of the United States, Britain, and the dominions of the British Commonwealth, and a minority of northern and central European nations, although it has been tentatively tried, without any outstanding success so far, all over Latin America and much of South, East, and Central Europe.

sible for the government of Indonesia to function securely. Third is the lifting of the level of the whole community life mentally, spiritually, and physically.

In such a task the Christian church, even though it may remain for a long period a minority group, must inevitably take a central place. This is so, first of all, by virtue of the fact that the gospel has within itself the power to create persons with such standards of value and with such gifts for leadership as to be the core of democratic government. The Christian community is, as a matter of history, the leaven that makes democratic government possible in the world.

A tormenting problem, however, faces the Christian community of Indonesia as they look forward to the self-government of their people. The Christians are, and for long years will be, a religious minority amid a vastly preponderant Moslem majority, just as the Christian community in Burma is a religious minority amid a Buddhist majority. And as Buddhism and nationalism are allied in Burma, so are Islam and nationalism allied to a considerable degree in Indonesia. Today in self-governing Moslem lands like Egypt conversion from Islam to Christianity is regarded as treason to the country. It is visited with severe persecution and with instant peril to life itself. Would Indonesian self-government by a Moslem majority mean similar oppression of the Christians?

Never have I known the distress of this conflict to be more acutely stated than by a Javanese Christian leader with whom I discussed the problem of self-government at the Madras International Missionary Council meeting in December, 1938. We were debating how far it is the duty of a Christian who is a member of a subject people to work with others toward achieving its independence.

"If the Dutch government were to leave my country," replied the Javanese Christian—and I took down his reply at the

time verbatim—"we Javanese Christians would be a helpless minority facing an enormous majority of Moslems and pagans. Yet, as a son of my country's soil, I cannot fail to share their aspirations. If I am to be quite frank," he continued, "I must say that there is a conflict in my heart between love of freedom as a son of my people and concern for the future of my church. *I ask that the mission that brings us the gospel may prepare us for the encounter that must come between the Christians and the majority religion in the country.*"

If you were to draw a map of the Indonesian archipelago to show the range of the religions, you would cover all the islands with a tint of animism. Then you would mark on each of the different islands solid Christian areas of differing size like separated plateaus. These you would surround by equally solid but much larger plains of Moslems, and, in Bali, of Hindus. In other words, the Christians are not scattered everywhere in Indonesia as a leaven among the Moslems and animists. They are concentrated in sturdy but rather detached communities. That is their strength and also their weakness.

Actually these Christian communities are an outstanding miracle. They have grown in this century in the western and the eastern islands, but not in the central, with a speed unique in the history of the expansion of the Christian church. In Sumatra and little Nias alone we find more Protestant Christians than in China and Japan combined. In the Celebes and the Moluccas the hundreds of thousands of Christians bid fair, in the not distant future, to bring almost all their neighboring tribes into the one fold. The growth among the pagan tribal folk is a dramatic story that will be told in the next chapter. Here we look at the smaller but more unlooked-for growth during a hundred years of a sturdy and growing Christian community among the immensely predominant Moslem millions of Java. Toward its western tip these Moslems are zeal-

ous, but the Islam of the center and the east of this long narrow island is more tolerant in spirit.

Has any church in history had a stranger birth than that of East Java? A Russian artist married an Indonesian lady of royal blood, descended from a Hindu-Javanese dynasty. Their son, C. L. Coolen, a planter, preached the gospel to his Moslem neighbors and workers. Through his gifted mother he had become an expert in the brilliant technique of the shadow-theater, beloved by every Javanese peasant-farmer and his family, and used it to tell the Christian story. He won many to the faith, as did a simple devoted watchmaker contemporary. The first Christians were baptized in 1843.

A missionary sent out from Holland in 1851 laid the solid foundations of the East Java Church. Many performers of the shadow-theater were converted, and they spread stories and truths from the gospels by their shadow plays, often in a crude way but in terms that even the illiterate could grasp.

Later Dutch missionaries—especially the Kruyts, father and son—opened the second era in the life of the East Java Church. From 1864 to the beginning of the twentieth century they organized the Christian community life, developed preachers and teachers, worked to lift the level of home life and of agriculture as well as to heal the body. This upbuilding of the community made the church self-centered and intent on right behavior according to the Christian *adat*, or customary code, rather than eager for missionary expansion. The missionary, who alone could administer the sacraments, was during that period the will and the mind controlling all, so that the church was dependent on external guidance.

The Christian Javanese have recently moved forward into the third stage. In 1931 they achieved unity. They continued in a single synod. This was leading toward strong church

self-government at the time of the Japanese invasion in 1942. The missionary has retired into the background and is co-operator rather than director. The organizing centers of the church have been moved from the villages to the towns in order to foster a city as well as a rural leadership. A Javanese Christian leader, Pandita Mas Mardjo Sir, vice-moderator of the East Java Church Synod, linked the Javanese with the universal church as its delegate to the International Missionary Council meeting at Madras in 1938. Javanese missionary preachers are going into Moslem communities, while three Javanese ministers were sent as missionaries a few years ago to the Hindu island of Bali. They already have a church of a thousand Balinese Christians. The total membership of the East Java Church is some thirty-four thousand, the largest number of Christians ever won by conversion from Islam in one area. The process has been going steadily forward at a momentum now increasing from some four to five hundred adult instructed converts each year.

When we look at this East Java Church we see that, considerable as it is in size, it is nevertheless outnumbered by more than a hundred to one by the Moslems in Java. As we watch the onward movement of Javanese nationalism that links itself with a militant Islam we can fully share the grave anxiety expressed by the Javanese Christian already quoted.[3]

All over Indonesia, with its countless dialects and numerous primitive languages, Malayan shows signs of becoming the *lingua franca.* If Malayan could become the universal language of that area, its use would speed the spread of the gospel, for at present the babel of tongues in which the Christian message must be spoken and into which the Bible must be translated in order to reach all the peoples of the archipelago is a most stubborn obstacle.

[3] See pages 41-42.

We now turn from the archipelago to look at the growth of the Christian community in Moslem Malaya. Mr. Ho-Seng Ong, a leading Chinese Christian of Malaya, was chatting with an American missionary at a holiday resort behind Singapore not long before Pearl Harbor. "I am Chinese by race," he said, "but I have never seen China. My father and I were both born here in Malaya and so were my children. I cannot speak Mandarin Chinese nor any one of the four or five distinct dialects of Chinese spoken in Malaya. My only language is English. I am a Master of Arts of London University. I was born in the Malay state of Selangor under its ruler, the Moslem Malayan sultan. Because I am of Chinese race the sultan will not recognize me as a citizen, but because he is the ruler, although in treaty relationship in a British protectorate, I am not a British citizen. So I have to get a Chinese passport. We Chinese here must come to the place where we have a Malayan citizenship."

When he and the missionary went to church the following Sunday in Singapore, they sat in a congregation that regularly represents twenty racial and national backgrounds, listened to an anthem sung by a choir containing people of twelve different nations, and put money in the collection plate to aid the British and Foreign Bible Society, which in Malaya alone sells the Scriptures in forty-four languages and dialects, and distributes over a hundred and fifty thousand Gospels a year to Malayan Moslems.

By such a congregation a visitor freshly arrived in Malaya would be prepared for the strange fact that three-fifths of the total population of the country is not Malayan. The Chinese numbered just over 2,000,000 in 1938. An increasing number of them do not know the language of their fathers. Over 750,000 Indians, speaking several different languages, were flanked by over 320,000 immigrants from Indonesia as well as by some 17,000 Europeans and 16,000 Eurasians. The Malayan element

numbered only about 2,100,000 in 1938. The balance of population when Japanese occupation of Malaya is ended may be modified to some degree; but it is likely to remain substantially similar to that of 1938.

The Malays are not found in large numbers in the cities, the plantations, or the mines; but they form ninety per cent of remoter rural and jungle areas. Among the most primitive and shy of all God's hunted children are the Sakai aborigines, hidden in protected reservations in the Federated Malay States. Living every man for himself, with less of community custom and belief than any known people, with no marriage ceremony and no word for any number above three, their sole authority is the family council, which may be called at any hour, day or night, and must be attended by all. Hunting for food with a bamboo pipe and poisoned arrows, they will attack no one, but are ready to slay any suspicious intruder upon their privacy. They have successfully frustrated all the persistent efforts of the Malays to make them Moslems by force, persuasion, or law. Their main contact with the world has been through the government officer, whom they refuse to meet—a contact carried on through two or three ex-cannibal Batak Christians from Sumatra who are working as missionaries under the American Methodist board.

The Indians in Malaya normally desire to return home to India with their earnings from tin mining and rubber planting, although many remain as school teachers and as municipal, government, or business office clerks. They are industrious and frugal folk who try to save in order to remove the money-lenders' grip from their families at home in India.

The hard-working Chinese, with their shrewd, far-sighted business capacity and their poise and patience blended with ambition, have throughout this century increasingly dominated the economic and mercantile life of Malaya. From the

millionaire Chinese merchant, in his Rolls-Royce, to the laundryman in the side street, they go their quiet, acquisitive, law-abiding way. As the most stable element in the total citizenry, they have a standard of living undreamed of by their ancestors, who came as coolies to this land, perhaps unique in its enjoyment of a hundred years of unbroken prosperity.

In Malaya, as everywhere, the Chinese have come under criticism on the ground that the majority have a divided loyalty. They have some allegiance to the country to which they have migrated. But they have in the past sent much of their money back to China, and the Chinese government has not released them from Chinese citizenship. Recently Chinese have begun to emigrate with their wives and raise their families in Malaya; this practice will certainly increase their cultural and economic dominance over the country in the post-war world. These Chinese do not, however, desire to see China take political charge of Malaya. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has expressly stated that China has no ambitions whatever in that direction.

Multiple threads of relationship have bound British controls to the three parts of British Malaya: (1) the Crown Colony of the Straits Settlements (Singapore, Penang, and Malacca); (2) the protected Federated Malay States (which came severally to Britain in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and were federated in 1896); and (3) the protected Unfederated Malay States (transferred from Siam in 1909) together with Johore, whose sultan accepted a British adviser in 1914. The Crown Colony, with Singapore as its main base, has been ruled by a governor advised by an executive council composed of officials and Malayan, Chinese, and Eurasian non-officials, with a legislative council. No democratic electorate has been set up. Any such proposal would be opposed by the Malayans on the ground that it would result in

control over them by the predominant Chinese population.

The Malay States, both Federated and Unfederated, were local Moslem sultanates. A British resident was appointed in each petty state to regulate the life of each through its sultan. Chinese merchants in Singapore a century ago urged the British to take control on the mainland of Malaya in order to suppress the incessant piracy of these sultans, who preyed upon the rich coastal commerce of the Chinese. The Chinese subsequently criticized the British for buttressing the local authority of the sultans and for not creating a general British citizenship for all settled inhabitants.

Britain agreed not to interfere with the religious attitudes of the inhabitants of these numerous sultanates, which are all strongly Mohammedan. It has, therefore, for the most part discouraged Christian missions from undertaking any evangelistic work among these Moslem subjects. The Bible Society colporteurs, however, have traveled freely among the Malays and sold Scriptures by the hundred thousand.

Because each Moslem Malayan peasant has always owed loyalty primarily to his village headman or chief and then to his local river-valley sultan, no national Malayan consciousness has ever existed. The Malayans are the most literate people on the mainland of Asia because of the sustained development of education under the British government and that government's financial aid to the predominantly American Methodist mission schools. This universally spread education and an increasing periodical literature in their own language will certainly increase in the postwar world the growth of a Malayan community consciousness. This in face of the more numerous and richer Chinese community may, unless wisely handled, result in antagonism between Malayan and Chinese communal groups.

The Christian community, which in 1941 numbered about

110,000, is largely confined to the Chinese and Indian populations, apart from the relatively small European and Eurasian groups. Two causes for the absence of a strong Malay church are the Moslem resistance to Christianity, based on the communal solidarity that makes a convert to Christianity an outcaste, and the fact that the government discouraged organized evangelism among Mohammedan Malays.

The number of non-Roman Christians among the Chinese and Indians is about 27,000, of whom some 17,000 belong to churches developed by the American Methodist mission. Into them have flowed steady streams of younger members from the numerous state-aided mission schools. These churches, and those linked with British missionary work conducted under the Anglican and Presbyterian societies, more than doubled their membership during the fifteen years ending with the Japanese invasion and have multiplied tenfold in this century. Yet the total Christian membership, including Roman Catholics, is still only about two per cent of the population.

Facing the Moslem world, the Christian church has been in danger of yielding to defeatism. The rock of resistance has appeared to be impregnable. Escapism has suggested concentration upon the easier task of bringing the gospel to primitive animists. The remarkable advance made by Christianity among the Moslems of Java, however, is one evidence among others that Mohammedan peoples can be won to Christian discipleship. A pooling of experience by Christian leaders, the training of new missionaries, Asiatic as well as Western, in the understanding of Islamic culture, a great enrichment of good Christian literature in the language of the people, and a vigorous intensification of the splendid work already under way through the Bible societies, are elements in a postwar strategy that in Malaya and Indonesia may achieve results eclipsing the best we have so far witnessed.

Chapter Four

NOMMENSEN'S "HOLY WAR" IN BATAKLAND:

A HEROIC ENTERPRISE AMONG CANNIBALS IN SUMATRA

Frenzied Bataks from the highlands of Sumatra brandishing heavy-bladed head-knives rushed toward the party of two white men and their brown guides who were pushing their way up a steep forest trail.[1] The two men, Henry Lyman and Samuel Munson, had sailed in 1833 under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to bring the Christian gospel to Sumatra. And now they were climbing from the coast over mountain passes and through jungle swamps to the remote northern plateau and lake valley where robust and vigorous Toba Batak tribes still kept their tribal ways intact.

Convinced that these white men with their guides were Moslem spies heralding an invasion of their solitude by Moslems from the coastal areas, the Bataks attacked them. A chief knocked down one of the Americans. With his sword he cut off the white man's head and carried it off in triumph; his warriors then slew the other missionary. All the guides fled for their lives, save one who was captured.

Lighting a fire, the Bataks bound the guide to it.

"He has broken our rule that no one may enter Batakland

[1] The long scimitar-shaped weapons of which the blade is heaviest at the tip were invented by the Dyaks of Borneo for head-hunting expeditions.

without our knowledge and permission," said the chief. "He will serve us as food and others as a warning."

As he spoke he cut a slice of flesh from the man's arm and cooked it before his eyes. The chief's subjects drew their knives and swarmed round, competing to get other strips until the captive died. The two missionaries also were eaten in a cannibal feast.[2]

Instead of averting our eyes in loathing from this horrible scene, we shall gain by giving it steady analysis. It reveals two facts that are of high importance for the Christian movement. The first is that the fear and rage in the Bataks, whose love of their own land and their own way of life is intense, sprang from the threat of despotic exploitation by fanatical Moslem chiefs from the province of Atjeh on the coast. The second is that their cannibalism sprang, not from lust of blood, but from a spiritual belief that is the mainspring of life for millions of animists between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, although it has not led everywhere to the practice of cannibalism.

This belief, which Christianity does not so much destroy as fulfill, is that a spiritual essence, *mana*, pervades all things. The aim of life is to acquire *mana*, which can be controlled for good or for evil. The Dyak head-hunter of Borneo, like the cannibal Batak of Sumatra, is, from the humanitarian angle of Western civilization, a cruel, bloodthirsty savage. From the angle of animist tribal society, however, he is seeking the power that comes from accumulating spiritual force by eating a man who has that force. The chief who killed Lyman confessed later that he rushed off with the head of the white missionary because he thought it would increase his *mana*, his power. A witch doctor, who is believed to have power

[2] We know these facts in detail from a confession made years later by the chief.

through his control of *mana*, for that reason often holds the chieftainship.

The gallant, abortive venture of the American Board and the martyrdom of the two missionaries threw down a challenge at the feet of Christian people. Thirty years passed, however, before that challenge was taken up. In the meantime the interior of Sumatra became better known through Dutch writers and German traders. The German Rhenish Mission finally made the next venture into this dangerous arena. The subsequent sensational advance, which, within three-quarters of a century, has now brought into being a largely self-supporting church of over a third of a million descendants of Batak cannibals, can best be watched through the career of Ludwig Nommensen, one of the greatest of modern apostles. An additional reason for giving him more prominence in this book than is afforded to any other missionary lies in the fact that in the English-speaking world he has been so far almost unknown, except to missionary strategists and historians.[3]

The devout wife of a rather sickly lockkeeper named Nommensen, on the outer dykes of a North German island, gave birth on February 6, 1834, to a boy whom they named Ludwig. The poverty of the parents meant that little Ludwig when only seven years old was earning a pittance minding the neighbor's geese. At eight years he had the ambition to be a shepherd; at nine he was apprenticed to a slater; but his tenth year saw him employed by a farmer.

A horse and cart knocked the boy down in the street and ran over him. He was so crippled that no one thought that he would ever walk again. In his enforced idleness he read the

[3] The only account of Nommensen's career in English is Dr. Raymond L. Archer's translation from the Dutch of Dr. J. H. Hemmers' *Sketches from the Life of Nommensen*, which appeared in the *Malaysia Message* of Singapore from 1936 to 1939. Dr. Archer is at work on a biography of Nommensen.

family's one book, the Bible, aided by the village schoolmaster. One sentence haunted him: "If you ask anything in my name, I will do it." "Lord," said the boy, "make my legs well. If you do so," he added, "I will go to carry the gospel to the pagans of whom the schoolmaster has told me."

A new doctor came to the neighborhood. He prescribed different treatment. In a month Ludwig could walk. "I will go to be a missionary," he said, "to fulfill my promise if God would bring me healing in answer to my prayer."

When he was fourteen his father died, and for six years he had to take responsibility for the support of his mother and his two sisters. But he never forgot his vow.

The naïve youth's idea of being a missionary was to reach a port, board a ship, and sail to a pagan land. When he was twenty he wrapped his few possessions in a bundle and walked to the nearest port. No ship's captain would take him. Crestfallen, he trudged home and went to work for a friendly farmer, who lent him books from his well laden shelves. The more he read, the deeper grew his gloom at his shortcomings. The good farmer found him a position as a pupil teacher for the winter months. Ludwig milked cows, cleaned stables, swept the schoolhouse, helped to teach the youngest class, rang the church bell on Sundays, and sang in the choir.

Later he became assistant teacher in a private school. Here the decisive hour came. A wise minister, Dominie Hallsted, habitually came to inspect the school. Young Nommensen told him of his determination to be a missionary.

"You must go to the training school for missionaries at Barmen," said the Dominie.

Ludwig was astounded to learn that such an institution existed. He needed much preliminary preparation. Dr. Hallsted taught him Latin, Greek, and English for a year, and Nommensen thus early revealed his remarkable aptitude for

and we are astounded that as late as 1942 the Luth. Ch. in Germ. having training sch. for missionaries

languages. He entered the Barmen College in 1857 at the age of twenty-three. He was ordained in 1861 and was assigned by the Rhenish Mission to Sumatra. He then went to Amsterdam for two months' preliminary study of the Batak and Malay languages, before boarding a Dutch ship bound for the Netherlands East Indies. He had won the affection of Caroline Gubrod of Hamburg, curiously enough a member of the Scottish Church there; but she did not sail with him. After a hard voyage of five months he landed at the western Sumatra port of Padang in May, 1862.

Nommensen joined a group of Dutch and German missionaries in a discussion about the best center from which he should work. A Dutch professor named Van Der Tunk, out of experience in Indonesia, had planted in Ludwig's mind the firm conviction that the mission was wrong in remaining near the coast and ought to go right inland to the area at which the two American missionaries had aimed, in the broad valley around Lake Toba. Nommensen was sent, however, to a safer spot, Baros, then the most northerly post on Sumatra that the Dutch government had under control.

At that time Nommensen met a missionary named Denninger, who was later to initiate an achievement almost as astounding as that which he himself was to start. Denninger went to the island of Nias, west of the northern part of Sumatra, where immense ruins of Hindu civilization startle the rare visitor. The pagan tribespeople of Nias, after a difficult time of indecision, swung toward the Christian faith with such momentum that today a church numbering over a hundred thousand members covers most of the island.

Contacts with the fanatical Moslems of the area around Baros confirmed Nommensen's conviction that Professor Van der Tunk was right in declaring that the Rhenish Mission should develop work inland. In October, 1862, he began to

explore the interior, accompanied by a few Batak guides. Warned by the fate of the American missionaries, on reaching a village he quietly discussed things with the headman and was careful that no native custom should be broken by himself or his guides. This preoccupation with the customs of the people—another outcome of Professor Van der Tunk's wise advice—became perhaps the most fruitful of all springs that fed the Christian community of the future.

To pause and watch Nommensen making friends in one village will give us a "close-up" of the local community in which the Christian gospel must win its way in animist Indonesia. An earthen wall with a forbidding hedge of pointed bamboo stakes on top surrounded the village—the first indication of the life of fear in which the people lived. The houses were built on strong tree-trunk pillars. Pigs, dogs, hens, and other animals were kept in the space below the floor of the family living quarters.

The chief led Nommensen and his party up a ladder through a trap door into an oblong, windowless room without partitions. Here the whole family lived. On the stone-covered part of the floor the women pounded rice and cooked over a fire, the smoke of which curled around the interior, begriming everything but checking mosquitoes. After a sketchy meal Nommensen opened talk on the longing of man to be free from fear of enemies and of evil spirits; and of how Jesus Christ had come to give man these freedoms. Vigorously shaken heads revealed utter lack of comprehension of such a possibility.

During this journey Nommensen climbed over the ridge of a mountain to a central market village called Rampe. This, he was sure, would prove a strategic center for new work. He wrote to the Rhenish Society at Barmen to send a colleague. But the local Dutch governor, remembering that seven mis-

sionaries had recently been done to death in Borneo, absolutely refused to allow settlement by missionaries in an area that had not yet come under full government administration with adequate police protection.

Returning to Baros on the coast, he found that the government was ready to permit entrance to the Batak country from the coastal district of Sibolga, by way of Sipirok. He sailed in a small boat to Sibolga through a tempest that put him in extreme danger, as he repeatedly was in later years. These experiences, paralleling the perils through which St. Paul went, led Nommensen to confide to his diary, "Even though I am not to be compared with St. Paul I have his ambition, to work in a field into which he was the first to break."

Balked from carrying out at once his plan for the interior, he initiated work in Sibolga among Moslems who were trying to win the pagan tribespeople to the worship of Allah. He started a school. Its great success at the outset was soon checked because the Dutch government started new schools with Moslem teachers; the people therefore thought of Islam as the herald of a new Western culture.

At last Nommensen was free to go on another tour of investigation into the interior. In November, 1863, after long travel he came to a rich valley at the foot of cliffs near Lake Toba. Unusual excitement seized him. "Alive or dead," he cried, "among these folk for whom redemption has been purchased by the precious blood of Christ, I shall remain, O God, and establish your word and kingdom."

Some Batak chiefs became furious as Nommensen's influence increased among their people. They tried to terrorize him into leaving. "He is the devil in person. Look at his magic bag [his medicine kit] and beware. Our children will become his children, unable to take a step without him. Away with him!" Nommensen told them that God had called him to live

in that valley and work there. Other more friendly chiefs, having taken solemn counsel together, gave him their permission to remain.

After a short absence he returned eagerly to the remote highlands where the Toba Bataks lived. What was his horror to find that in the interval fierce intertribal war had broken out. All work on the land had ceased, with the threat of consequent famine. The conflicting warriors on both sides of that rich valley of Silindung were eagerly ambushing and eating their enemies. Some now hurled menaces upon Nommensen.

"We will cut off your legs and throw you into the river. We will cut off your head and call the people to come and eat you." Nommensen laughed aloud and proceeded to build a little wooden house for himself.

"We will murder you. We will burn you in your house," they raged. They flung heaps of filth into the shed that a friendly chief had set apart for him. Patiently he cleaned the filth out daily.

He started a school. None would send their children to it. He tried to buy lumber for his house. None would sell. He sent the two young men from another Batak tribe whom he had brought with him to cut down trees. Enemies took the tools away from them and made Nommensen pay for their return. Yet every day warriors wounded in the intertribal fighting came asking him to extract bullets and to wash and sew up their wounds.

By grim persistence he got a few more logs added to his house each day, the timbers being held together by rattan withes. In the night foes cut the rattan so that the roof might fall in on him and crush him to death. One day the earth trembled. "Watch out," shouted his young men, "an earthquake is coming." Nommensen dashed out into the open just

in time to escape the crash of all the timbers of his ruined house.

Feeling that the time had come for more direct pressure, he induced many of the village chiefs to come together. He held up a piece of paper.

"On this paper," he said, "the Dutch government has written down its permit for me to live here. Some of you chiefs told me that I could live here. Now some of you resist me. So far I have not complained to the government of the attempts of your men to terrify me into leaving. But my patience is at an end. From now on I write down the names of all who resist my staying here. Give me land on which to build a house. I mean to stay."

The chiefs gave way, granted the ground and promised help, but they put every obstacle in the path of the building. So he and his two men built the house by night. Day by day he went in and out among the people talking with them, finding out more about their ways of life, telling them the simple central truths of Christ and his gospel of the kingdom of God.

Cannibalism in its most loathsome and cruel forms reigned supreme. Nommensen discovered that the chief who, over thirty years earlier, led the murderers of the American Board missionaries, Munson and Lyman, was still alive. Straightway he traveled to the man's village and sat down with him.

"I know that you killed the two white men and, with your followers, ate their bodies," he said. "I have come to tell you that God forgives his children who confess to him and are truly sorry for the evil that they have done."

He told the story of Jesus Christ and his death on the cross; and said that Jesus had, even there, declared the forgiveness of the sins of the thief-murderer who hung beside him on another cross. The cannibal chief admitted that he had killed

the men, but he resisted all Nommensen's pleas, then and later, that he should confess his sin to God with repentance. Today, however, all his descendants are Christians. They live near the place made sacred by the death of the martyrs at the hand of their cannibal ancestor.

Disturbed by the stories of the intertribal cannibal warfare in this valley, the Dutch governor of the Padang area of Sumatra came up to Silindung. A man of uncommon patience and insight, he spent a month there. Nommensen got some friendly chiefs together and laid before the governor the needs and the problems of the people. At that time, and repeatedly in later years, Nommensen argued against allowing any land to be alienated to white men, a practice that had done harm to the native economy in other parts of Sumatra. The success of Nommensen and his later colleagues in thus protecting the Bataks from becoming victims of the plantation system is of untold value to the people and to their all-round well-being and independence today, as well as to the sturdiness of self-support in the church.

Toward the end of 1864 a fresh blaze of fury against Nommensen sprang up among unfriendly chiefs. They sent out invitations to a feast of sacrifice to the spirits with the intention of utterly destroying him. Newly made Christian converts urged Nommensen to flee the country as the only way of saving his life. He refused. The converts formed a bodyguard and never left him by day or night. The day of the feast came. Over a thousand inflamed cannibals, carrying spears, guns, clubs, and head-knives, assembled expectantly around the leading witch doctor chief through whom the Ancestor Spirit would speak its will. An ox was to be slaughtered for a burnt offering to the Spirit.

The multitude gasped with amazement as Nommensen, unarmed and alone, walked straight into the center of this armed

camp of cannibals who had come together to destroy him. His voice rang out.

"I ask you all to lay aside your weapons of war."

A murmur of sullen refusal swept over the crowd. With the dauntless courage that showed him to have completely outlawed the fear of death, Nommensen walked up to some of the warriors and quietly took the head-knives from their hands.

"We can just as well kill you with our hands," they growled, but they made no effort to do so. Silence reigned.

"I shall not receive the ox as an offering," said the witch doctor, speaking for the Ancestor Spirit, "unless you also sacrifice a person from your midst."

Hundreds of voices rose in the air, clamoring for the blood of Nommensen. His horrified friends on the edge of the assembly were certain that his end had come. He walked around the circle with uplifted hand. "Be calm," his voice rang out; "be peaceful." He walked toward the witch doctor. The man fell motionless to the ground; his whole body quivered; then he lay still.

The multitude stood spellbound. Nommensen proceeded round the ring with uplifted hand.

"How can a grandfather ask for the blood of his own offspring?" he cried. "This was not the spirit of your ancestor speaking through this man. No, it was the Spirit of Evil, Satan, the arch-liar, pretending to be your ancestor."

The dumbfounded pagans who had come together to destroy Nommensen melted into bewildered groups. Rain fell in torrents, as though the heavens had opened, driving all the people to their homes. This further convinced them that the favor of the spirits was with Nommensen. They were now ready to listen to his teaching. Within a month a letter was on its way to the headquarters of the mission in Barmen in

Germany: "Silindung lies open before you; send more missionaries."

As Nommensen moved among the people he explored more and more intimately into their minds. He discovered their belief that a man's soul after death becomes "an ancestral spirit," exercising care over the ongoing community To throw off the old customs and thus fail in reverence to the ancestors, that is a sure way of provoking their indignation. Nommensen's insight into this was shown in the great clash of spirit forces that we have just described.

Nommensen was soon to discover the pathetic tremors of fear that pass through the Christian convert as he forsakes his primitive spirit worship. For instance, the animists believe that hair is an abode of *mana*—the spirit power that men covet. One decisive act of discarding animism on entering the Christian church is to have the hair cut short. As the Christian Batak teacher-pastor cuts the convert's hair, the new Christian will exclaim fervently, "Lord Jesus, may I remain in good health!"

Nommensen's success in medical treatment astonished himself, and his radiation of spiritual strength aided his growing ascendancy among the Toba Bataks. The touch of his hand often quieted a patient and reduced his fever.

Nommensen would sit from dawn to dark settling squabbles over land or crops, wives or hunting rights that were brought to him. As each case passed in review through Nommensen's acute brain, he gradually discovered a fact of epoch-making importance. Every part of the life of each Batak man, woman, and child of all ranks is governed by a universally accepted code of custom that has—although unwritten—the force of law. The Toba Bataks, as well as other Malayan groups in the archipelago, call this law that governs the common life of the people the *adat*.

Judge of Nommensen's astonishment on finding that a mul-

titude of judgments in the *adat* coincided with the Ten Commandments and with the detailed instructions on business, civic, sex, and family relationships in the Books of the Law in the Bible. Christ said that he came not to destroy the law but to fulfill it. What a disaster might befall the Batak tribes if Christianity came as the enemy of the *adat*, this complete guide for the life of the individual and of the whole community! Cleansed of the pagan elements of idol worship and blood sacrifice, the *adat* could stand with the Ten Commandments under the power of the gospel.

Nommensen discussed this idea with some of the more intelligent new Christians who had learned the Ten Commandments. They agreed that, while the Ten Commandments were superior to the common law of the *adat*, the two codes were indeed similar. As they learned of the saving power of Christ they said to Nommensen, "Our *adat* tells us to do this and not to do that, but gives us no power to follow its commands. Christ's *adat* is like ours and is even more exacting, but he gives men power to obey."

Nommensen and his fellow-missionaries therefore decided to let the purified Batak *adat* be the rule of human relations for the now growing young Christian church. As a result of this process of adaptation, the growth of the Christians in numbers was much swifter than it could have been had they been asked to tear themselves up from the old roots of community life. The fact that the Batak family and clan ties are close and intimate made it easy for whole groups to come into the Christian church. One weakness that springs straight from this dependence upon community consciousness is that when Batak Christian youths go down to coastal cities to earn a livelihood, they are often carried into evil ways because the communal standards on which they relied no longer surround them.

As Nommensen visited different villages he made converts here and there. The angry chiefs drove these Christians from their villages and naturally they fled to Nommensen. So a colony of Christians grew in the village of Huta Dami. With the help of his small band of Christian converts, Nommensen built there a modest wooden church and school. In the school boys and girls saw in him their hero and leader. The first solid, real Christian community in Batakland thus came to birth.

For four years the young missionary had lived among the Bataks. His heart constantly turned to his German fiancée, Caroline Gubrod, in the Scottish Church in Hamburg. He wrote to her asking whether she would come out to him. Frankly he described the hardships and perils of the crude life far from all the comforts and conveniences of modern European life. In 1865 she sailed from Europe and he traveled eagerly to the coast to meet her. While they were waiting to complete the necessary formalities before the wedding could take place, Christian Bataks hurried down from the interior.

"The enemies of the Christians are getting together," they said. "Our houses, the school, the church will be burned."

A priest-king, the Singamanga Rajah, had started to raise an army to fall upon the Christian village and blot it out with all its inhabitants.

Nommensen hurried back with his bride to his Christian village-community at Huta Dami. Arriving in that valley in March, 1866, Mrs. Nommensen courageously faced the ordeals that broke on her and her husband.

A devastating smallpox epidemic terrified the neighborhood. As none died in the Christian village, the pagan Bataks moved their sick children thither, till Nommensen's little home was filled with them. The endurance and selfless service of the Nommensens resulted in the conversion of more Bataks, who were forced to leave their villages with all their possessions,

thus swelling the numbers of the Christian community at Huta Dami. A second German missionary colleague came to Nommensen's help.

The furious antagonism of the Singamanga Rajah, the priest-sorcerer-king, meanwhile rose to a murderous pitch. His army was ready to level Huta Dami to the ground and massacre its inhabitants. From the angle of vision of a primitive local despot who saw his spiritual and political domination over his people threatened simultaneously by the European missionary and his government, the Singamanga Rajah's attack is understandable. He could hardly be expected to see what immense advances for his people lay in the leadership of the Christian missionary. The Batak Christian leaders pressed Nommensen to call on the Dutch governor for help, and a hundred soldiers were sent to their defense.

Six hundred pagan Bataks advanced on the village shouting, dancing, shooting. The defending troops withheld fire and sent a messenger offering peace. With derisive yells the pagans rejected this. As the horde advanced the soldiers emerged and fired one volley into their ranks. Checked for a moment, they rallied and rushed on. Only after a number had been killed in futile charges did the attackers withdraw.

The Dutch governor arrived with two hundred more troops and set out to burn the villages from which the raiders had come. At Nommensen's suggestion the governor agreed to pardon all the villages where the inhabitants displayed a white flag. Nommensen sent this message throughout the countryside and all save five villages hung out the flag. Later the pardoned villagers blessed Nommensen because they had been spared much suffering.

Still a force of hostile Bataks was in the field over the neighboring ridge. Their spearhead was broken by the troops. Again Nommensen and his colleague went forward to per-

suade the people that their peace and security lay in accepting the authority of the Netherlands government. All the chiefs of Batak Tobaland came in to signify their acceptance. Ludwig Nommensen wrote home to the missionary society at Barmen, "Should conditions continue to improve . . . within a few years we shall see a great field of opportunity opening up before us. . . . The natives see that those who followed our advice have nothing to suffer or to fear, while those who suffered unpleasant experiences have themselves to blame since they would not listen to our advice."

Day after day and night after night Nommensen labored on his translation of the Bible into the Batak tongue. A day marking an epoch in Batak history—indeed, the birthday of its literature as well as the greatest source of continuous nourishment of the Christian community—dawned when Nommensen's translation of the Bible was published. The literate Christians eagerly bought it. Even pagans who came down from the inner highlands took back copies so that, in later years, when Nommensen penetrated into their territory, he found many of them with a fair knowledge of the treasured Book.

Mrs. Nommensen's health was sagging under the strain of the conditions and of the climate. At last it was declared necessary for her to go back to Germany if she was to recover her health. Nommensen decided to take her home. Thousands of Batak Christians came thronging to the central town when they heard that their father in God was to leave them for a time. Nommensen was overwhelmed with emotion as he moved through the vast crowd and saw the tears in many eyes as he entered the church that they had built. The congregation of erstwhile cannibals were joyful Christians, singing to the listening multitude:

> Bless the Lord, O my soul,
> And all that is within me, bless his holy name.

Nommensen turned his face homeward to the Europe from which he had sailed eighteen years earlier. Obliged to leave his wife behind in her homeland with their two young sons, he returned in 1880 to Sumatra. Alone he faced in Batakland a new period of brewing storm. The Singamanga Rajah, still desiring to wipe out of existence the missionaries and the Christian community, sent out from his highland fastnesses emissaries who brought in hundreds of hotheaded recruits. He offered the equivalent of three hundred dollars for the head of every white man or woman brought to him. Nommensen hurried to the remote stations where missionaries were stationed. He crossed a lake to rescue a missionary and his family, named Bonn, who were entirely cut off.

"See," cried the Bonn children joyfully as his boat grated on the shore of the lake, "Grandfather Nommensen has not forgotten us."

The priest-king moved against the central Christian community. The Dutch representative had only twenty armed men. Nommensen in his anguish at the imminence of war prayed for an issue without bloodshed. The troops fired a salvo at the enemy. The priest-king, who had proclaimed that he could not be hit by bullets, was wounded in the arm. This shook the morale of the rebels. The Dutch soldiers marched on and burned the sorcerer's temple to the ground. The astounded animists were convinced that the *mana* had forsaken the Singamanga Rajah. His power was broken forever.

One of his most eminent witch doctors, named Abadja, was at this time converted to Christianity. This remarkable man was destined in the years to come to play a creative part as a powerful evangelist and church leader in the spread of the gospel among his people.

The transformation that had taken place in less than twenty years was dramatized some months later (in July, 1884) by

the yearly meeting of the Synod of the Batak Church in the village that had been the capital of the priest-king. Ludwig Nommensen presided over its deliberations within sight of the blackened timbers of the Singamanga Rajah's temple. The impression made upon the watching crowds by the six hundred Batak members of the Synod with the sixteen missionaries spread far and wide.

Nommensen, with the tireless zeal that never sagged, traveled widely through the following years, sometimes preaching in as many as eight different places each Sunday. There would be no rest in the evenings, however, when he returned to headquarters, for hundreds of people would come to visit him with all kinds of problems.

A terrible epidemic of cholera swept the area in 1890. Nommensen fell ill. Although approaching sixty, he recovered and carried forward his work, which now became, more and more, that of master-architect of a church growing with such speed as to shower upon him insistent and varied problems.

When, early in this century, Nommensen learned that his colleagues felt he had reached the age when he should retire to Germany, he was greatly distressed. "If they insist on my retirement," he said, "then I shall carry on as a self-supporting missionary, for my life belongs to the Batak people and when my life is finished I desire to be laid to rest among them." The dilemma was resolved by dividing the field into five districts, each in the charge of a missionary, with Nommensen over all as mission superintendent.

In 1911, the Rhenish Mission celebrated the completion of fifty years of work in Sumatra. In the village where, in 1865, thousands of pagans had gathered in the market place and with earsplitting yells had threatened to sacrifice Nommensen to the spirits unless he promised to leave their country, other thousands, no longer pagan, gathered to do honor to the vet-

eran missionary and to thank God for the blessings that his work had brought to their land. "How often," they told him, "have we annoyed you with our selfishness and yet even so you have been patient with us. The example of your sacrifice will remain ever before our eyes and will help us to walk in the way you have pointed out."

During the jubilee celebrations Nommensen received a decoration conferred upon him by the Queen of the Netherlands for his services to the people, which had resulted in the growth of a Batak Christian church of over 180,000 members in fifty years. The honors he received drew from him the declaration: "I do not covet earthly honors. My only desire is that I may be recognized as a poor sinner saved through Christ."

Two years afterward, although seventy-nine years old, he crossed to Singapore to take part in a conference of missionaries of several denominations convened by Dr. John R. Mott, who was then bringing into being the national Christian councils in Asia. These were later to become part of the world fabric of the International Missionary Council, which now covers the world.

Nommensen died in May, 1918, at the age of eighty-four, having continued his missionary work to the very end. He was buried in the presence of about forty thousand Bataks who had received the Word of Life because of his Christian vision, faithfulness, and indomitable courage.

Today the four hundred thousand Batak Christians in Sumatra constitute a great harvest. Yet they are, if the Christian church is faithful, only the first fruits. Of 1,400,000 non-Christian Bataks in Sumatra, 200,000 are Moslems. The 1,200,000 animist Bataks are today accepted by the Batak Christian Church as their mission field. They have not only created an independent missionary society but have sent some sixty Batak

missionaries to carry the gospel to their pagan fellow-tribesmen. They are building schools and churches in the wilds as well as carrying the printed gospels and Bibles to people to whom they bring the story of their own experience as freshly released from the power of demons. Among the remarkable creations of the Batak church that Nommensen founded some eighty years ago are leper colonies, hospitals, industrial schools for vocational training, including craft schools for the blind and self-supporting institutions for the education of pastors and teachers. All these institutions are part of the fine colonies of Christians that give solidity and power of expansion to the church.[4]

Mr. J. Merle Davis, in a study of the Batak church, writes:

"The Batak makes a good missionary. His mental energy, belief in himself and in his faith, his boldness and the courage of his convictions fit him for pioneer Christian work. . . . These qualities, coupled with a genius for colonization and the tendency to emigrate throughout the Netherlands Indies, may destine these people to a wide missionary service in the Archipelago." [5]

As we turn for a while from Sumatra to look at the Christian advance among other island peoples, we pause to glance for a moment through a window opened by Dr. Raymond L. Archer, of the Methodist mission on that island, at a tiny scene that dramatizes the transformation that we have been following. Dr. Archer was walking through the jungle in the Asahan area of Sumatra when a violent storm came up. Just then he came to the bamboo house of a Batak chief, who invited him to take shelter in his simple homestead until the rain had

[4] The later history of the Batak church up to the Japanese invasion in 1942, with special reference to the growth of Christian community, is narrated in Chapter Eight.

[5] *The Economic Basis of the Church* (Vol. V of the Madras Series), p. 423. New York, International Missionary Council, 1939.

passed. They sat together on the bamboo floor of the dark smoke-grimed hut, with the wife cooking the evening meal in the back of the single room, talking of the changes in the life of the people.

"My young friend," said the aged chieftain, "it is fortunate for you that you did not come along here forty years ago and seek shelter as you now did, for we might have killed you and eaten a bit of your flesh in order that we might control your spirit. In those days we looked upon every stranger as an enemy and the only way we knew to handle enemies was to kill them. But now life for us has changed. Men of God have come and they have taught us that all men are brothers, that through Christ the Saviour we might be changed from men of fear to men of good will. Now we look upon every stranger as a friend because in our hearts there is a fountain of good will for all men."

Chapter Five

"THE ASTONISHING CLUSTERS":

ISLANDS OF THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC

Myriads of coral insects, silently building cell by cell for thousands of years, raised on the submerged shoulders of volcanic peaks in the Pacific Ocean islands of a beauty so fantastic as to lead even a New York scientist to record his experiences there under the title, *Yankee Doctor in Paradise*.[1] Other Pacific islands of larger size but equal beauty are believed to be the last exposed morsels of a now submerged continent.

A century and a half ago an English prophet-orator, George Burder, who was audaciously calling on Christians to go out to those islands before traders or governments had set foot upon them, exclaimed, "Behold the astonishing clusters of the South Sea Islands."

What words of astonishment would Burder have used if he could have visited them in 1944! For he would have seen island peoples who in his day had no written language and whose gods were then rudely carved logs of wood, now a hundred per cent literate and Christian, but sheltering in coral caves from aerial bombing armadas. Stranger still, those bombs were dropped by young men of the nations that had sent missionaries; and they were dropped in order to blast to pieces

[1] *Yankee Doctor in Paradise*, by Sylvester Maxwell Lambert. Boston, Little, Brown & Company, 1941.

the forces of an Asiatic invader from other Pacific islands. He would have seen the children of Stone Age primitive peoples gathered around loudspeakers in that "paradise" listening to a voice from ten thousand miles away, telling the news of the global war in whose tragic consequences they were enmeshed, although wholly innocent of complicity in its causes.

Geographers and anthropologists classify these clusters of daisies in the stupendous meadow of the Pacific Ocean into three groups that are often lumped together as Oceania:

Micronesia ("the little islands") are the more northerly and western multitude, running from the Gilberts just north of the equator toward the Philippines and upward toward Japan, whose government took over control of 1,483 of them from Germany under a mandate of the League of Nations after World War I. Britain held the Gilberts from 1892 and the United States controlled Guam, Wake, and Midway.

Polynesia ("the many islands") are grouped roughly in thirteen scattered archipelagoes that stretch eastward from the Ellice and Samoan Islands all across to Easter Island and northeastward to Hawaii.

Melanesia ("the islands of the blacks"), although not so numerous or so widely scattered as the other two groups, actually include fully four-fifths of the land area of the South Sea Islands, because they are individually larger.

We shall concentrate attention mainly on the stormy fortunes of the Melanesians, partly because they abut upon the Indonesian archipelago and thus their future fortunes will probably be interlocked with that area. Indeed, the western portion of New Guinea governmentally belongs to Indonesia, while its eastern half falls within the Melanesian area. All New Guinea and its neighbor, Borneo, form part of our scene.

The control of the Melanesian Islands, with that of New Guinea, has been in the hands of three governments since the

close of World War I. Australia at that time took over northeastern New Guinea from Germany, together with the Bismarck Archipelago (New Ireland and New Britain), under a League of Nations mandate. Papua, the southeasterly area of New Guinea, Britain had already transferred as a colony to Australia. Britain has maintained control of the Solomon Islands. These islands, with a part of the New Hebrides, the Fijian group, and the tiny Gilbert atolls, are administered by Britain from the Colonial Office in London under a high commissioner for the Western Pacific, with headquarters in Suva, the capital of Fiji, and with local resident commissioners in the different island groups. France and Britain together controlled New Caledonia and part of the New Hebrides.

If we ask, "Why has the rule of Western powers come into this area?" we need to disentangle three main threads.

When, in the eighteenth century, the youth and most of the adults in the English-speaking world were enthralled with the amazing new world of romantic islands opened up in Captain Cook's diaries, Christian leaders leaped forward to carry the gospel to these peoples, and Western traders chartered their ships to seek wealth. In New England the harbors of Salem and other ports were alive with whalers and traders bound for the Pacific round Cape Horn. There they met British, Australian, and other traders and the remorseless recruiters of labor for the plantations of Queensland called "blackbirders." John Williams, preacher, teacher, author, translator, printer, architect, shipbuilder, and sea-captain, led the chiefs of many islands to burn their war gods and to lead their subjects to enter the Christian discipleship. He visited Erromanga in the New Hebrides from which some of these "blackbirders" had recently carried off many young men and women. The islanders, in revenge and, as they believed, in self-defense, beat out the missionary's brains on the beach, mis-

taking him for another "blackbirder." White labor recruiters were thus the real criminals who martyred John Williams in 1839.

In numerous groups of islands chiefs and missionaries appealed to Britain in particular, with her near-by bases in New Zealand and Australia, to come in and protect their islanders from these lawless labor recruiters, the garbage of many nations, who bade fair to wipe out the island populations. That call by the islanders for protection from evil pagan whites was the first and the continuing thread that brought Western government to the Southwest Pacific.

The second thread was strategic. When Germany took control of over fourteen hundred Micronesian Islands and a large part of New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, France—in New Caledonia—and the United States—in the Samoan group at the west end of Polynesia—as well as Britain, moved to consolidate their position in face of the world-wide expansion from Berlin that led to the First World War.

The third thread was commercial. Each one of us every day contributes to the constantly expanding world-wide demand for copra (in soap and food fats), for phosphates, for rice, yams, sugar cane, sago, camphor, bananas, coconuts, coral, gold, and other raw materials drawn in ever increasing quantities from these islands, large and small. We have hurled the crude mechanism of our commercial interchange and monetary system, based on individual ownership, into their barter economy, in which personal private property had no meaning. Government came in to safeguard and control commerce on the one hand and, on the other, to try to conserve the valuable elements of the tribal life and stamp out such practices as cannibalism, ritual murder, infanticide, and inter-tribal strife. The informed Christian conscience must have as a central concern the future weaving of the best of the old and the

new into a fresh pattern of community life for these peoples.

John Williams' greatest achievement, in his twenty years' work for the London Missionary Society, was the education and training of young Polynesian teacher-pastors, not only to work as ministers of the young churches in their own areas but to sail many hundreds of miles westward as missionaries to the black Melanesian islanders, and to the Micronesians, who were all racially as strange to these Polynesians as to the Western missionary.

Among the first of these was Papeiha,[2] a young man who, in the 1820's, with his Bible tied in a coconut fiber cloth on his head, dropped over the side of the *Messenger of Peace* and swam to the shore of an utterly primitive island. When John Williams later sailed back to that island he found that, undaunted by many plots against his life, Papeiha had won a hearing for his message, had led the people to burn their crude wooden idols, to build their own church, and to begin to grope their way toward a less primitive apprehension of the Christian meaning of life. By 1853 more than fifty Polynesian teacher-pastors had lost their lives as missionaries in the Melanesian islands.

I confess that I gazed with reverent admiration at the portly, brown twentieth-century Polynesian apostle, Pastor Jupeli of Samoa, clad in his simple cotton gown, as he mingled with his fellow-leaders of the universal church at the Madras meeting of the International Missionary Council in 1938. The first of this long succession of Polynesians to represent these island missionaries at any world gathering, Pastor Jupeli had, as preacher, pastor, and vice-principal of a training college, given forty years of missionary service in the London Missionary Society field on the sixteen coral atolls of the Micronesian Gilbert group, where the Samoans had started Christian work

[2] Pronounced *Pah-pay-ee-bah.*

in 1870. Here in an area aggregating only one hundred and sixty-six square miles there were, at the outbreak of the Pacific war in 1941, twenty-eight thousand people, seventy per cent of whom were literate and preponderantly Christian.

The main link with the outer world for the workers on these lonely islands has always been the successive ships bearing the name of *John Williams*, flying the flag that was hoisted in 1796 on the first missionary ship, *The Duff*—a flag with three white doves bearing olive twigs in their beaks, on a bluish purple field. These *John Williams* schooners have, for generation after generation, been built and supported by the boys and girls of the churches in Britain. The first sailed the Pacific Ocean for twenty years, carrying white and brown apostles from island to island and bringing new supplies of Gospels and of food and clothing, until she suffered shipwreck in 1864. The children rallied to meet this sudden need and provided her successor. She, however, was wrecked on the treacherous reefs of Niue Island within a year. Undaunted, the young people of Britain again set to work, and in 1868 the third sailing ship, *John Williams*, started on her adventurous errands in the service of Christ, which she sustained for a quarter of a century. The greater demands of the vast area to be covered, however, called for a steamship, and the fourth *John Williams* went out in 1893. So the "apostolic succession" of missionary ships in the South Pacific has been sustained until today, when *John Williams V* has through World War II kept her flag of peace flying and carried her apostolic cargoes of men and women, white and brown, to many island groups between New Guinea on the west and the Cook Islands and Tahiti on the east.

From Canada, a few years after John Williams' death, John Geddie sailed to the New Hebridean island of Aneityum. By Herculean labors, Geddie carried on with unbroken for-

titude for nearly a quarter of a century and earned this epitaph: "When he came to the island in 1848, there was not a single Christian; when he left in 1872, there was not a single heathen." Born in Scotland and bred in Nova Scotia, young Geddie, like a Canadian Carey, incited the Presbyterian church in Nova Scotia to initiate a foreign missionary enterprise. He took lessons in printing and medicine, and sailed to the South Seas with his wife, three children, a Bible, a printing press, and a medicine chest. On the advice of London Missionary Society workers in Samoa he chose Aneityum as his field and sailed thither with a veteran of that society to help in starting the work. The islanders threatened their lives, stole their goods, and tried to burn their homes. Undaunted, Geddie and his wife sturdily fought evil ways, such as the strangling of wives on the death of their husbands, and at last won some of the chiefs and witch doctors to the Christian faith. John Geddie would translate a Gospel, set it in type, print and bind it, draw the architectural plans of a church, and be, at one and the same time, carpenter, mason, and wood carver in erecting it, sail a boat over the ocean, diagnose a disease and prescribe the medicine for curing it, preach a sermon to adults and then teach a restless class of adolescents, and "hike" through jungle paths and over mountain passes on foot, in his incessant labor to win the people to the Christian faith.

Sorcerers and priests, seeing their craft in danger, attempted to wreck his work—as the silversmiths of Diana of the Ephesians rose against St. Paul. They set his house on fire at midnight, hoping to burn him and his sleeping family. Friendly natives were so incensed that it took all Geddie's persuasive powers to hold them back from vengeance on these "heathen." Another attack rallied all the Christians on the island. Within two more years, by 1854, the whole island of Aneityum had abandoned its pagan practices. The Christian church had won

the population to its membership. The task of building them up in Christian living still lay ahead.

In the footsteps of such pioneers as John Geddie, the New Hebrides Mission, a grouping of Canadian, Australian, and Scottish Presbyterian boards had by the end of the nineteenth century carried the work far and wide to over a score of Melanesian Islands under the leadership of notable missionaries, among whom John G. Paton became world famous. In the view of qualified secular specialists, long resident in the New Hebrides, the population of the island group was saved by the Presbyterian missionaries, through their influence on the government, their building up of the church community, and their development of health services, from being wiped out by the destructive diseases and the depopulation of the islands by "blackbirders."

Meanwhile an Englishman of brilliant gifts, courageous vision, and inexhaustible energy, George Selwyn, sailed to New Zealand in 1841 as its first bishop. He harnessed the energies of the New Zealand Christians to the titanic task of bringing the men and women of some fifty other Melanesian islands into the community of Christ.

A wizard in the learning of languages, Bishop Selwyn within a short time produced a comparative grammar of three related South Sea Island languages as part of his statesmanlike policy of creating Melanesian pastors and teachers. A splendid seaman, he navigated his own missionary ship, the *Southern Cross*, over the enormous wastes of the Pacific Ocean. He recruited fifty young Christian Melanesians to prepare at St. John's College in New Zealand to become evangelists to their own people.

A fourteen-year-old Eton schoolboy, John Coleridge Patteson, never forgot the vision that Selwyn's farewell sermon in 1841 gave him, with its picture of the island peoples under

the Southern Cross waiting for the gospel. He sailed to the South Seas in 1855 and within a few years, while training some of the islanders as evangelists, he not only learned several island languages but reduced them to writing for the first time. He also compiled grammars of those languages and translated parts of the New Testament into some of them.

Patteson's outstanding genius was for winning swiftly the hero-worship of the boys and young men of the islands. During his first voyage on the *Southern Cross* he visited sixty-six islands, landed eighty-one times, and recruited a dozen youths of about eighteen years, whose parents entrusted their sons to him, to be trained in St. John's College.

The sometimes fatal chills that these boys from the subtropics caught in New Zealand led Patteson to decide to build another school at Norfolk Island (south of the Solomons, New Caledonia, and the New Hebrides), where Melanesian students were trained for missionary work among their own people. A new bishopric was created and Patteson became the first bishop of Melanesia.

Thirty-two years after the death of John Williams the natives of Nukapu killed Bishop Patteson. They sent his body floating back in a canoe to his brown and white colleagues in their ship offshore. The mourners found his body pierced with five wounds and on the martyr's breast was laid a palm leaf with five knots tied in it. This was to symbolize the five Nukapu Islanders previously kidnapped into forced labor by white "blackbirders," who with devilish treachery had won the confidence of the islanders by saying that they were Patteson's friends.[3]

The two hundred thousand inhabitants, half of them Mela-

[3] The full story written for boys and girls can be read in the author's *There Go the Conquerors* (Round Table Press, New York) or *Yarns of South Sea Pioneers* (obtainable from missionary libraries).

nesian and half Indian, who inhabit the Fijian Islands far to the south of the Solomons, form the largest group in the Southwest Pacific. The startling contrast in the life of the Fijian people on either side of the "great divide" in their history marked by the advent of the Christian gospel can be seen most dramatically and accurately through the eyes of James Calvert, a Methodist missionary who reached Fiji some twenty years after the first Christian pioneers had landed there. His single life stretched across and was the greatest influence in effecting that transformation.

During his seven years' apprenticeship in a Yorkshire printshop and bookbindery, James Calvert unwittingly learned much that was to be of immense help to Fiji. He sailed from England in 1838 with his young bride, two colleagues, and a printing press. The missionaries set to work to learn the language and to reduce it not only to writing but to print. Soon a small dictionary and a grammar were in use.

As Calvert moved from island to island he found cannibalism everywhere. When a man died and the death drums throbbed, his wives were strangled and thrown into his grave, as were also his slaves, to serve him in the next world. As Calvert sat by a dying chief and saw the wives being lined up to be killed and thrown into the grave, he held up his left hand and offered to have a finger cut off for every woman whose life should be spared. Meanwhile Calvert declared to the chief that he would have no need of his wives to cook for him, and that the one thing that could help him in the future life for which he was bound was to surrender his heart to the love of God as seen in Christ on the cross.

By such startling acts and stirring challenges the change was initiated. King Thakombau in 1857 accepted Christ as his Saviour. The persecution, exile, torture, and death that had been visited upon Fijians who became Christians ceased. The

death drums were ordered to be sounded no more for human sacrifice but to call the people to the worship of the living God.

Meanwhile, not only were complete, well bound New Testaments pouring from Calvert's printing press, but, as he indefatigably carried his printing machine from island to island, literally thousands of leaflets and pamphlets were produced for the people, who were being taught to read in the many schools and churches. When in 1885, at the age of seventy-two, James Calvert helped to celebrate the jubilee of Christianity in the islands, not a single avowed Fijian pagan was to be found. Out of a total population of 116,000, he saw 1,300 churches with over 104,000 Methodist Christians, ministered to by over 1,000 teacher-pastors (who had 42,000 pupils in 2,000 schools), and guided by sixty-five Fijian and ten white missionaries. Only 12,800 Fijian Christians are Roman Catholics, although their missionaries entered Fiji only nine years after the Methodists and their European staff has always greatly exceeded that of the Protestants. The reason will become clear in a later chapter on the rôle of the church in the community.

Henceforward these islanders can be counted as one of the Christian peoples of the world, for whom—as for us all—the central need is to deepen and to sustain the reality of loyalty to the faith and to make the rule of God more thorough in daily personal and community life.

The sight of tall, bearded Sikhs, Indian Moslem traders, and Hindus trotting along under dripping goatskin water bags startled the scores of thousands of American, Australian, and New Zealand men of the armed forces for whom Fiji became in 1942 a Pacific Ocean base. Their astonishment deepened on learning that the population of Indians in Fiji exceeds 100,000 and will soon outnumber the Fijians, for they increase at more than twice the rate of the Fijians.

These Indians now living in Fiji are descendants of those who became residents out of the 60,000 immigrants who were brought to Fiji under an indentured labor system between 1879 and 1916, when it was abolished by the government of India following agitation against its abuses. They were brought in by sugar cane plantation capitalists because the leisurely, uncommercial Fijian cannot easily be lured from his own communal group and the patch of soil where he loves to cultivate his own subsistence crops.

Unrest became rife among the uprooted Indians in Fiji, as they worked for low wages on large plantations under overseers to create profits for an impersonal corporation. A new system that makes the Indians tenant-farmers, as lessees of the lands that they cultivate, gives them a closer interest in working the soil. This is the backbone of their economy today. Many thousands, however, are also shoemakers, clerks in government and commercial offices, laborers in the gold mines, taxi drivers, laundrymen, and household servants. Of nine motion picture theaters in the islands, eight are controlled by Indians, and they own most of the facilities for land transportation.

At least three serious tensions continue, however, within the Indians' own community.

First, differences in language, social custom, and temperament wall the Indians in from the Fijian population as well as from the Europeans. Yet when those Indians born in Fiji go to India the whole caste-ridden pattern of life in their ancestral home is tormentingly alien to them.

Second, the economic advance and population increase of the Indian are beginning to create disquiet in the Fijian who watches the expansion of Indian economic power with uneasiness. This Indian-Fijian tension bids fair to increase as nationalists from India visit Fiji and incite the Indians there to

agitate for larger political representation. Eighty per cent of the land is held by Fijians as tribal possession. To transfer land to aliens is now prohibited. Much of the rest is held under Crown grants by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, who are trying to encourage the Fijians to cultivate sugar cane. The chiefs of Fiji agreed in council in 1936 that all lands not under Fijian tribal ownership be open for settlement as determined by the government. A Native Land Trust Act in 1940 set up a board to administer that land. An Indian goes always with the commissioner who administers the Trust, to represent the needs of Indian lessees. This is a characteristic experiment toward adjusting the needs of each of the two halves of the population—the indigenous Fijian and the immigrant but now resident Indian.

Third, the Indians in Fiji have failed to shake off the most pestilent of Asiatic vampires—the usurious money-lender. Often he is one of their own Hindu priests.

Barely 2,000 of the 100,000 Indians in Fiji are Christians, and many sit loosely to their ancestral Indian faiths. Any postwar strategy of Christian advance in the Southwest Pacific will be inadequate unless it places high on its agenda a concerted skilled approach to this "Little India" in this time of transition when it is relatively malleable.

Swinging northwestward to the second largest island in the world, New Guinea, we need to recall the division of its 315,000 square miles of tropical mountain, forest, jungle, and river between the governments of Holland and Australia. Australian and American soldiers, battling month after month against unseen Japanese in the "green hell" of the jungle, scaling hitherto impossible peaks, and swinging tanks across abysses declared impassable, have startled with twentieth-century mechanical miracles the Stone Age aborigines in areas hidden from "civilization" throughout the ages.

New Guinea was the last area in the Southwest Pacific to become a field for active missionary work. The first Christians to light the tiny taper of the faith on these shores were Polynesian teacher-pastors brought by the *John Williams* in the 1860's. One of our first glimpses of their activity is as they rushed up the coast from bay to bay warning the Papuans that evil white men—labor-recruiting "blackbirders"—were on the way to cajole or force them to sail away, thus giving the natives time to elude the recruiters. When the two Scotsmen, W. A. Lawes, language student and educator, and James Chalmers, burly, heroic, exploring adventurer, landed in the 1870's at Port Moresby as pioneers of Christianity under the London Missionary Society, their simple goal was to bring the people out of the darkness of paganism into the light of the gospel. Working with four or five languages, the one translated, printed, and educated while the other traveled, establishing friendly contacts with one cannibal tribe after another, "making straight the path of the Lord."

On hearing a rumor that there was gold in the island of New Guinea, the premier of the Australian colony of Queensland, in 1883, sent a police magistrate to annex the unclaimed eastern territory. A British protectorate was proclaimed in 1884. Chalmers, the missionary, was appalled at the prospect that Queensland, which had been a source of the infamous "blackbirders," would soon be sending labor recruiters to serve gold prospectors and planters. His fears seemed all too well founded when a Sydney syndicate bought 15,000 acres of first-class sugar plantation land at two cents an acre, never having had any contact with the real owner. Chalmers' protests brought on his head the denunciations of commerce as "the tyrant missionary"! At last in 1888 Britain formally annexed Southeast New Guinea. Under Lawes' and Chalmers' advice deportation of natives and the import of intoxicants, opium, fire-

arms, and explosives were all made illegal, while the people were promised that neither their land nor their liberty should be taken from them. After the war the pressure of demand for the creation of plantations in New Guinea will subject the Christian white populations, especially those in Australia and New Zealand, to a severe moral test, on the issue of which the destiny of these peoples depends. This issue we shall define in a later chapter.

Already many thousands of people, whose fathers half a century ago were cannibals and head-hunters in perpetual intertribal vendetta, have been transformed through the influence of Christian missions into peaceful, trustworthy farmers and craftsmen. In Papua that influence has come from the work of the London Missionary Society and of the Australian Anglican Church, the latter helped by the New Guinea Association, affiliated to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in England. In the Mandated Territory of Northeastern New Guinea the principal missions of non-Roman agencies have been those of German Lutheran societies and of the American Lutheran Church. The scores of thousands of Christian Papuans, still wearing their primitive loin cloths and banana-leaf skirts, and uninfected by the fevers of industrialism or of race antagonism, can be the embryo of a new society in New Guinea, if protected by government from becoming the tools of mercantile and plantation expansion.

The missionaries, out of their long experience, echo the words of one of the last utterances made by that great administrator, Sir Hubert Murray, after half a lifetime devoted to Papua. Weighing each word deliberately, he said, "The capacity of the Papuan to learn is only limited by our capacity to teach."

The abiding bonds between the missionaries and their people are suggested unforgettably in the "heart-to-heart" broad-

cast by Dr. Strong, the Bishop of New Guinea, from the mission radio station close to the Cathedral at Dogura. The oncoming invasion of the Japanese roused a panic that swept the plantation owners, storekeepers, and almost all the white population out of the island. The planters left to their fate—in all save a few notable instances—the Papuan laborers whom they had recruited. The bishop at that hour of crisis sent out his message to his workers. Soon after delivering his message he was machine-gunned from a Japanese plane while landing from a small boat on the beach, a bullet lodging in his prayer-book.

"We must endeavor," said the bishop over the air to his staff of eighteen men and eighteen women scattered over hundreds of miles, "to carry on our work in all circumstances, no matter what the cost may ultimately be to any of us individually. God expects this of us. The church at home, which sent us out, will surely expect it. The universal church expects it. The tradition and history of missions require it of us. . . . The people whom we serve expect it of us. We could never hold up our faces again if, for our own safety, we all forsook Him and fled when the shadows of the passion began to gather around Him in his spiritual and mystical body, the church in Papua."

Chapter Six

SEVEN THOUSAND FAR-FLUNG ISLES:

THE PHILIPPINES

Imagine the shock to Magellan and his Spanish sailors when they landed on the Philippine Islands and heard the cry, "Great is Allah and Mohammed is his prophet!" Their country had just thrown back the last Moslem Moors out of Europe into Africa, and they gave to the Moslem islanders in the Pacific Ocean the same name as the African Moslems—Moros (Moors).

The Spaniards started to wipe out the Moros, but actually the Moros did the exterminating. Magellan, after claiming the seven thousands islands and islets for King Philip, was slain by a Moslem chief. Only one ship—and less than a score of its crew—survived to complete the voyage, going on by the Indian Ocean and round the Cape of Good Hope to Spain. They were the first men to circumnavigate the globe.

The answer to the riddle that mystified the Spaniards, "How did the Moros get to the Philippines?" has already been suggested in this book. The Sulu Archipelago, which links the Philippines to Indonesia by way of the Celebes and Borneo, was the last stepping stone on the persistent eastward pilgrimage of the Arabs by India, Malaya, and Java to the Pacific. The Philippine Islands were their terminus. An Arab superman, Abu Bakr, who claimed direct descent from Mohammed, married an island princess of the Sulu group, ruled

as sultan, and imposed an Islamic stamp on the life of the people. His pugnacious island subjects were delighted that he made piracy a religious duty.

For four centuries the Spaniards fitfully tried to extend their rule of the Philippines to control the defiant Moros. They failed even to stop them from running large piratic fleets—raiding, sacking, slaughtering, and slave-making—against their fellow-Filipinos.

The word "Filipino" is a blanket title for multiple diverse groups and strains growing toward nationhood. The Filipino people cannot be labeled as purely Malay or Indonesian. Everywhere the inhabitants of the islands, save the dark Negrito aboriginals and Igorots hidden in the hills and northeastern Luzon, are Mongoloid with other strains interwoven. Their delicate bone structure, grace, brown skin, black straight hair, and lack of beard does mark them, however, as belonging to the east Asiatic race, dominant in Indo-China and Indonesia, generally, although unscientifically, called Malay. The Spanish strain blends with the Mongoloid Indonesian (as in the case of President Manuel Quezon) and with the pure Chinese (as in the case of the Vice-President, Sergio Osmena) to make a wealthy and powerful *mestizo* class forming a dominant minority.

The distinction between the Moros and Filipinos is not so much of race as of religion: the peaceful peasant farmers living in the coastal plains and valleys of the great northern island of Luzon and the archipelago south of it were gathered into the Roman Catholic church by Spanish friars, while, as we have seen, the slave-hunting, piratic Moros on the other great island of Mindanao and the little Sulu Archipelago are Moslems. In the remoter areas, the primitive peoples are still largely animists. Of them the largest group is the sturdy, closely organized Igorot people in northern Luzon.

From remote centuries fleets of Chinese and Japanese ships sailed annually to trade with the islanders, and the language, drama, arts, and crafts of the Filipinos still bear many marks of Hindu culture—carried to the island indirectly by the migrations described in Chapter Two.

By the end of the eighteenth century the Spaniards had succeeded in bringing a majority of the animists in the Islands into superficial allegiance to the Roman Catholic church, thus making them the most numerous Christian people in the Pacific. They utterly failed, however, to convert the stubbornly Islamic Moros. Conflict was still smoldering between the Spanish rulers and the Moros when the Philippines in 1898 came under the authority of the United States after the Spanish-American War. General Leonard Wood, who was given control in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, magnificently shouldered responsibility for the rule of these Moslems on behalf of America.

"When do you expect to read this roomful of books?" asked a friend, sweeping his arm round the shelves loaded with books on Islam, the Moros, and the peoples of the Orient, which General Wood had collected.

"I have read them," he answered. Not only so; he had also traveled through Borneo, Java, and Sumatra, meeting Moslems and experienced Dutch and British governors of Moslems. In Mindanao General Wood discussed the Koran with Moslem *mullahs* and showed that he knew it better than many of them. Such knowledge commanded awed reverence. The supreme *mullah* declared in solemn Moro great council that it was Allah's will that America should rule them; and, what was more remarkable, that the Moros should pay taxes for the privilege. Subordinate Moro rulers, however, put up fanatical resistance to American rule, which General Pershing repressed after fierce fighting.

Governor Wood paid wages that seemed lavish to the Moros for work that converted their Moslem capital, Zamboanga, from a malodorous mess into a garden city with parks, fountains, water-lilied lakes, and canals, while its boulevards and shore line at night were a blaze of electric light. The sons of pirates worked in plantations of coffee, tea, rubber, and tree-cotton. The reformed prison of San Ramon boasted a unique record of cured law-breakers. Public schools supplied by the government were supplemented by Christian schools like the Moro Agricultural School, founded on the island of Jolo in 1916 by keen American women under Bishop Charles H. Brent's leadership. The school received enthusiastic Moro backing. The miracle of thirty sons of Moslem tribal warriors enrolling in that training school at the start to learn the use of the plowshare instead of the scimitar was eclipsed later when a new dormitory was filled with the daughters of Moslem chiefs being trained in a Christian atmosphere for homemaking. This institution grew into Willard Straight Memorial School. A few years later the daughter of the Sultan of Sulu, the religious leader of all the Moros, became a student in the University of Illinois.

Of the 16,000,000 Filipinos, about 11,000,000 are Roman Catholics. Something over 2,000,000 belong to the Independent Filipino Church founded by Gregorio Aglipay, who with his followers broke off from the Roman Catholic Church in a revolt in 1902, although retaining much of the ancient liturgy of Rome. The community of Evangelical Christians—the term normally used in the Philippines for non-Roman Catholics or Protestants—in 1939 numbered 630,000. At that time it was estimated that there were some half-million Moros; and about 60,000 Buddhists and Shintoists, immigrants from China and Japan.

As we try to look into the growth of those Evangelical

Christian communities, a principal concern will be to discover how far their development toward self-support, self-government, and self-propagation has equipped them to stand any tests imposed by the Japanese occupation. While the majority of the American missionaries were interned after the conquest and most of the mission schools closed, Japanese Christian leaders were transferred to the Philippines to cooperate with the Filipino ministers. By placing men of the same denomination alongside each other (*e.g.*, a Methodist Japanese pastor with a Filipino Methodist) a basis for common action was created; and evidence suggests that the Japanese ministers for the most part acted in a comradely, Christian way. The severe food shortages created among the peasants in 1943 and 1944 by the wholesale export of their crops to Japan may have put a more severe strain upon the rural Filipino churches than any attempt at control from without.

Our estimate of the strength of Filipino Evangelical churches will be more realistic if we follow briefly their relatively short history, which started when the United States took control. Under Spain no Protestant missionaries could work in the country. The British and Foreign Bible Society had, however, already smuggled some Spanish Bibles into the islands. A dramatic episode in the story of the American Baptist mission illustrates the close connection between the circulation of the Bible and the growth of Evangelical Christianity. Toward the close of the nineteenth century a Spanish priest, Padre Juan, was deeply impressed with the truths of Evangelical religion by reading a New Testament. Through his influence 13,000 peasant farmers signed a petition that in 1900 brought the first of a long line of American Baptist missionaries, concentrating work within the seven thousand square miles of the Panay and Negros islands among a population of 1,500,000. These islands have unusual economic im-

portance. So strong was the growth of trained Christian leadership that in 1935 a Convention of Philippine Baptist Churches was formed, which, with the approval of the mission societies in America, took over responsibility for administering the mission work and guiding the policy of the younger churches. The heartening strength of the women's leadership is revealed in the creation in 1938, at the insistence of the women themselves, of a Woman's Committee within that Convention, which at the time of the occupation by Japan was pushing forward vigorously with plans for development. The intelligence, grace, and dignity of the Filipino women representatives at the Madras conference won universal admiration.

The dormitories created by the Baptist mission for students attending high school in these islands have influenced large numbers of the rising generation and won the friendship of many potential leaders. More concentrated Christian education has been exercised through their Central Philippine College at Iloilo and the Woman's Bible Training School now incorporated with the college. The hearts of thousands of suffering peasant farmers are warmed by the service of the Emmanuel and Iloilo hospitals. Many patients who go back healed to their village homes open the path for the gospel; while the Nurses' Training School and the development of young medical graduates strengthen greatly the power of lay Christian leadership.

Bishop Brent, representing the Protestant Episcopal Church, hesitated at the beginning of this century to undertake work in predominantly Roman Catholic areas, as this might be deemed proselytizing. The following considerations, however, led the other non-Roman Catholic churches to open work in the areas claimed by Catholicism. First, Roman Catholicism in the islands was, and is by and large, at a relatively primitive

level, and some religious practices prevail that can be described, not unfairly, as "baptized heathenism." Second, in addition to these millions who, although nominally Christian, are virtually animists, many of the peoples in the more remote areas have remained completely unevangelized by any church. Third, the social implications of the gospel, which enter into the Evangelical missionary enterprise, were lacking from the Roman Catholic contribution in the Philippines. Indeed, in general, the Roman Catholic church in areas conquered by Spain, whether in Latin America or in the Philippines, shows the weaknesses prevalent wherever Roman Catholicism has not encountered the challenge of the spiritual and moral forces released through the Reformation.

The Roman Catholic church, as the greatest landlord on the Islands, shares the guilt of the evil land-tenancy that is bleeding the peasant white and therefore shares also the bitter resentment of suffering peasants. The Roman Catholic hierarchy has used middlemen to collect the rents. The church thus gets a minimum of money (for the agents grasp much of it) with a maximum of resentment.

This land system is still the chief economic problem of the Philippines, although about seventy-five per cent still own small plots of land. Tenant farmers who cannot pay the cruelly exorbitant rent demanded by the "grafting" agents of absentee landlords or of the church are remorselessly evicted. Thus hundreds of thousands of Filipinos have become landless, poorly paid, rural wage-earners. Other tenant farmers borrow at high interest from the landlords and often become virtually their economic serfs.[1] The peasant's thriftless habits, including senseless expensive feasts, make him an easy

[1] For detailed description see *A Study of Mission Policy and the Philippine Church, 1938*, by Leonardo G. Dia; and *The Economic Basis of the Church* (Vol. V of the Madras Series).

prey to exploiters. As Vincent H. Gowen, the author of "Philippine Kaleidoscope," justly says,

> Between them, the church and the *cacique,* the secular land owner, kept and still keep the landless multitude of their tenants in a state of perpetual dependence, so that the peasant, the *tao,* forced to borrow seed and to surrender in payment a large share of his harvest, dragged out a life of serfdom. The church confined his education to elementary expressions of assent to its teachings. And the church shared another profitable monopoly, the monopoly of commerce in the West. . . . Philippine enterprise was stifled. What other commerce there was remained in the hands of the large colony of Chinese. . . . On the Roman church rested . . . the blame for confining belief, in too many cases, to a transfer of superstitious practices from old to new gods . . . and the blame for cramping the intellectual growth of the people and denying them the chance of a fair livelihood.[2]

As we wonder about the future of the decadent Spanish Catholicism of the Philippine Islands we do well to remember that the challenge of spiritual reformation, intellectual renaissance, and social upheaval has in the past repeatedly braced the Roman Catholic church to renewal of life. No historic organism has ever shown greater power of recovery. In the early years of the sixteenth century, for instance, the preaching of Luther, Calvin, and other leaders of the Reformed churches led to a revival of religion among many zealous Catholic groups. This was one side of the so-called Counter-Reformation. Francis Xavier, one of the heroic saints of all the ages, lived and died within the Catholic fold, although at one time he was tempted to follow Luther into the Reformed church. He was captured, however, by the flaming zeal of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuit order, and worked with him as leader of a reform movement within the church of his upbringing.

[2] "Philippine Kaleidoscope," by Vincent H. Gowen. New York, The National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, 281 Fourth Avenue, 1939. Used by permission.

May not history repeat itself? The Roman Catholic church in the Philippines already shows some signs of spiritual quickening and moral awakening since it has been challenged by the educational, social, and evangelistic passion of the churches growing out of the Reformation. The Archbishop of Manila, for instance, having observed with concern the agrarian upheavals stirred by desperate sharecroppers, offered in 1940 on behalf of the church to sell to the government at any price that it might fix any lands giving rise to social problems. Many Roman Catholics have acknowledged the bracing effect exercised upon both priests and congregations by the presence of the Evangelical witness.

One American Roman Catholic, long a resident in Brazil and the Philippine Islands, has said, "It takes the presence and work of you Protestants to clean up and vitalize my church, for, wherever it lives unchallenged by Protestant competition, it falls into apathy and disrepute." [3]

The Evangelical forces in the Philippines not only escape the Filipino's resentment because innocent of any exploitation in this field of landlordism, but have won allegiance as the friend of the peasant by social services, by the encouragement of thrift, and by agricultural training effort. Today more than 90 per cent of the 630,000 Evangelical Christians of the islands belong to this "green proletariat." Even in Manila, half the resident membership of the churches are country born and bred; and among the multitude of students in college and university in the metropolis, roughly one-half have "grass roots." The Evangelical churches expanded from nothing in 1900 to 80,000 members and adherents in 1911 and two-thirds of a million in 1938—an increase of over 600 per cent in 27 years, with an advance from 37 to 470 ordained

[3] "Outlook in Brazil," by Eula Kennedy Long. New York, Friendship Press, 1942.

and from 843 to 11,248 unordained Filipino leaders on the staff of workers in the latter period. Filipino contributions to Evangelical church support increased from some $37,000 in 1911 to $102,000 in 1938.

Evangelical Christianity has, for the most part, grown by winning to a vital Christianity men and women nauseated by a "balcony religion" that failed to meet the deep social needs of the people. Multitudes of intelligent men have lapsed into sheer secularism in recoil from the formalism, the reactionary conservatism, and the lack of moral fiber that have characterized much of the Catholicism that the Philippines inherited from Spanish rule.

A second cause of expansion has been the alertness of churches and mission leadership in meeting and caring for the hundreds of thousands of "homesteaders" who, stimulated by the land policy of the Philippine government, have fled in recent years from the oppressive rents imposed by the landlords of the great Luzon Island estates and have migrated to the southern island of Mindanao. Each family or group in its new environment, thus effectively linked with the church, has become the growing "cell" of a new little Christian community. We shall return to this.

A third cause of this growth has been the versatile inventiveness of the Evangelical forces in witnessing for Christ through the help given in schools and colleges, clinics and hospitals, through industrial training and rural reconstruction, music and pictures, pageants and drama, as well as by means of multiform social service such as cooperative banks. The rural program of the Philippine missions and churches includes farmers' institutes, where Christian comradeship accompanies experiments with new varieties of seeds and plants and with training in cooperative methods of purchase, labor, and sale. The raising of "God's chickens," "God's pigs," and

"God's coconut, orange, or mango trees," as well as the setting apart of "God's acre" in which each peasant church member shares labor, are methods of moving toward church self-support carried out by Christian communities of small farmers. All this calls for intensive development on a much wider scale in postwar agricultural mission policy.

Nowhere in the world have all these varied agencies been harnessed more effectively to the Evangelical task of "preaching for a verdict," that is, for the decisive acceptance of Christian discipleship.

The increasing tempo at which the leadership of the Christian forces has been transferred to Filipino shoulders during the past two decades forms a fourth factor in the expansion of Evangelical Christianity, while the striking advances in cooperation constitute a fifth stimulant to growth.

In 1901, far-sighted leaders not only created the interdenominational Evangelical Union but agreed (1) on a clear division of territory to avoid overlapping and to try to cover all the field—the latter goal, however, not yet being achieved; (2) to aim at creating one Evangelical church in the Philippines; (3) to cooperate in translating the Scriptures, producing literature, and maintaining schools, colleges, and hospitals.

In 1929 the Evangelical Union was reconstituted under the name of the National Christian Council, with functions similar to those of the Federal Council of Churches in America or the British Council of Churches. It is now called the Philippine Federation of Evangelical Churches. Three denominations—Congregational, United Brethren, and Presbyterian—joined in 1929 to form the United Evangelical Church; and strong movements are afoot to make the union more inclusive.

The Philippine Committee of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America called a Philippine Conference in

Washington, D. C., in 1940. They arrived at a fresh strategic approach to the vast task of evangelizing the non-Christian pagan "moderns," many of them of high influence in government, trade, and the professions; the myriads of young people spiritually adrift in school, college, and university; the animists and the Mohammedans of the Islands. Plans have thus been further matured in America during the dark days of Japanese occupation of the Philippines.

As we have seen, hundreds of thousands of emigrants have gone in recent years from Luzon to Lanao, the northern province of Mindanao. Mindanao is, therefore, now part Moslem, part pagan, and part Christian.

Lonely and bewildered, these immigrants, whether Roman Catholic, Evangelical, or with roots loosened from all faith, have shown quick response to the friendly helpfulness of the workers of the United Evangelical Church. These workers meet them at each port of entry, help them to find a place to stay the night, then guide them in their purchase of farm equipment, give them a letter of introduction to the nearest pastor, present them with a Bible, and generally cheer them on their way. Missionaries and pastors in all too inadequate numbers try to shepherd them in their homesteads and little churches. The magnitude of the task is shown by the fact that the immigrants have increased the population, especially on the north side of the island, from 600,000 to more than 2,000,000 in the twenty years up to the outbreak of war.

At the time of the Japanese invasion the governor and the deputy governor of Lanao Province, the chief of police of the city, numerous government officials, many public school teachers, and a good many laborers were members of the Evangelical city churches. Dr. Frank Laubach was pressing forward intensively with a closely woven program of popular adult education and of training church members in personal

evangelism. The key-word chart method of teaching adult illiterates to read was developed by him during his work in this area.[4]

Turning again to Luzon, we find in the region north of Manila that both the Methodist and the Protestant Episcopal Church have built up Christian communities that can be expected to stand the strain of upheaval. The membership of the Methodist Church throughout the Philippines is considerably larger than the membership of the United Evangelical Church, which has 50,000 communicants. The Methodist churches, both American-affiliated and independent, claim about 90,000 communicants. The Mary J. Johnson Hospital and School of Nursing concentrates especially on the need of women and of crippled children, while the Mary Brown Townsend Memorial Bible Training School develops women for voluntary lay service in the church. The Harris Memorial Training School concentrates on the training of deaconesses and kindergarten teachers. Six Methodist dormitories in different towns for students in government schools parallel similar institutions created by most of the other denominations in their apportioned districts with the aim of providing wholesome Christian comradeship and housing for young men and women who would be open otherwise to the full blast of evil influences.

The Chinese have held the retail trade of Manila in the hollow of their hand and the control of much of the international commerce. A former missionary in Amoy on the South China coast, the Reverend Hobart E. Studley, started work among the Chinese in Manila on behalf of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He led many Chinese to the Christian faith and

[4] Dr. Frank Laubach's work in different parts of Asia and Africa in adapting his method to varying needs is described in his *The Silent Billion Speak*. New York, Friendship Press, 1943.

also attracted a congregation that included Chinese Christian converts of the Anglican, Roman, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Methodist churches, which he called "a Chinese experiment in Christian union." The Methodist mission in 1907 turned over its Chinese work to his charge. Only the fringe of the Chinese population, however, has so far been confronted with the gospel.

Missionaries of the Protestant Episcopal Church began very soon after the annexation of the Philippines to carry the gospel to the Igorot tribes in the northern mountains of Luzon. When Bishop Brent first penetrated their fastnesses on horseback in 1903, he had to climb the mountains by way of the amazing rice terraces, two thousand years old, that form a gigantic green staircase. He found tribes engaged in head-hunting forays. Government by the tyranny of old men was reinforced by terror of sorceresses, who interpreted the will of the spirits of the dead and decreed death by poison to all innovators who moved an inch from old paths. Roman Catholicism had avoided these people after a sporadic attempt at evangelism undertaken by Augustinian friars. Spain had only sent soldiers up ladder roads to punish raiders. Yet obviously these folk were brave, hardy, proud, and industrious —true highlanders. Bishop Brent bought the abandoned property of the Augustinians and initiated a pioneer station at Bontoc.

Bishop Gouverneur F. Mosher coordinated the pioneer enterprises into a statesmanlike unity. Surely the strangest expression of head-hunting ever made by Christians was by his Igorot boys, who defaced many pictures of the Passion and the Crucifixion in Tissot's illustrated *Life of Christ*. When upbraided they exclaimed unabashed, "We have cut off the heads of all the men who helped to kill our Lord!"

Today a chain of five mountain mission stations carries the

gospel to many thousands of Igorots; but multitudes are still unreached in one of the most difficult of all animist mission fields.

The Spiritual Fellowship Deputation sent to the Philippine Islands by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in 1942 a few months before Pearl Harbor affirmed, after surveying the whole field, that in their judgment the two institutions that would most greatly help the Evangelical church development are Silliman University and the Union Theological Seminary in Manila, the latter under the ægis of the Presbyterian, Methodist, United Brethren, Disciples of Christ, and Congregational missions.

Reorganization of the curricula of both of these union institutions, strong reinforcement of the faculties with Filipino new blood, and a considerable extension of scholarships for promising students from underprivileged homes are among many recommendations made by the 1940 Washington conference of American missionaries already mentioned.

If the Filipino nation is to stand on its own feet in fellowship with other nations, its supreme need is to develop a numerous leadership possessing that moral integrity and readiness to serve without which democracy inevitably everywhere sags into dictatorship. To provide that leadership is essentially the task of Evangelical Christianity.

The Filipino delegates who represented the Church of the Philippine Islands at the Madras meeting of the International Missionary Council in 1938 revealed to a world gathering the quality of their own religious life and of their Christian leadership.

We met the Reverend Proculo Rodriguez of the North Mindanao United Evangelical Church, dean of the Silliman Bible School, a graduate of Silliman University on the Island of Negros and of the Union Theological Seminary in Manila.

After completing his theological training he took postgraduate work in America at Yale Divinity School and Drew Theological Seminary. He has served as secretary and field superintendent of the Philippine Council of Religious Education, and as moderator of his home conference. Mr. Rodriguez brings his academic training to the help of the rural folk. A man whose salary from the church has never exceeded fifty dollars a month, while his contemporaries with equivalent training get two hundred dollars a month in government service, Mr. Rodriguez has not only turned down many lucrative invitations but for years has given half his salary to help support the Bolinsong Farmers' Institute, which he founded.

Another delegate was the Reverend Eusebio M. Manuel, an energetic pastor and district superintendent who has served the church far beyond the borders of his own Methodist denomination as translator of the Bible in the Pampango language and of at least two hundred hymns and sacred songs, as editor of a Pampango periodical, *Ing Daclat ning Catutuan* (The Path of Truth), and as author of poems and religious plays. He also is a graduate of the Union Theological Seminary in Manila.

Among the Philippine lay leaders at Madras we met Mr. Mariano Banting, librarian of the Union High School of Manila, whose services as general secretary of the United Evangelical Church and one of its directors attest his administrative gifts to the Christian community.

The women delegates from the Philippine Islands impressed the conference with their gifts of leadership. For example, the work done by Miss Maria I. Dayoan, a member of the Disciples of Christ, as office secretary of the Philippine Federation of Evangelical Churches, director of the National Literacy campaign, and secretary to the National Christian Endeavor Union, reveals how a former public school teacher

and staff member of the Young Women's Christian Association, as well as dean of the Christian dormitory, can harness educational and technical efficiency to a charming Christian courtesy.

Notable in any gathering in the world would be the Reverend Leonardo G. Dia, moderator of the United Evangelical Church of the Philippine Islands, whose outstanding gifts of chairmanship in conference and in committee, as well as his pastoral experience, mark him as another outstanding alumnus of the Union Theological Seminary.

These are but a few of the representatives of those churches at Madras, each of whom revealed how varied are the gifts brought by contemporary Christian Filipino leaders to the ongoing work of the kingdom of God. Far heavier strains will be laid upon these leaders of the Evangelical churches when the Philippines sever governmental connection with the United States of America.

The aspirations of all Christian people for the Filipino nation are gathered into a prayer offered by a young Methodist minister, the Reverend Benjamin Ignacio Guansing at Nueva Ecija:

> Eternal God, we acknowledge thee as the Great Benefactor of our seven thousand far-flung Isles. . . . Accept our gratitude for inspiring the love which through sacrificial gifts on the part of many of thy Western children made possible the coming of missionaries to our shores. . . . Awaken us, dear Lord, from our lethargy. . . . Help us to go forth beyond our shores, making known Christ, the real dynamic of a new day in the East. Small as we are, imbue us with thy living Spirit that our country may be an effective leavening force in transforming humanity in Asia.[5]

[5] The whole of this prayer, with prayers offered by Christian leaders from a number of the lands covered in this book, may be found in *The World at One in Prayer*, edited by Daniel J. Fleming. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1942. Used by permission.

Chapter Seven

THE CHRISTIAN PLAYS HIS PART:

AS PREACHER, TEACHER, AND HEALER

Having watched the clashing and blending of forces that create the unfolding drama of Southeast Asia and of the neighboring Pacific islands, we now examine "close-up" pictures of separate scenes. The living theme is the creation of new Christian community within changing social patterns wrought by the interplay of West and East—of preacher and teacher, of surgeon and nurse, of translator and organizer, of industrialist and agriculturalist. The core of it all is the creation of Christian persons who call Jesus "Lord" and try to live in obedience to him. In the midst of suffering and struggle that Beloved Community that is the church has its indispensable rôle to play.

On that equatorial island known to the older generation as the haunt of "the Wild Man of Borneo," three or four miniatures will show us Christians at work against a barbaric background. Within the land area of Borneo, a little greater than that of Texas, we find jungles and mountains still unopened either by the Dutch, who hold sway over most of its territory, or by the British, who control the northern strip. The few Moslem traders on the coast have had little influence on the animists of the jungles. The head-hunting Dyaks have scared away those who would have opened up contacts by threading the river valleys into the interior.

An astonishing adventurer, James Brooke, who had somehow strayed out of the age of Elizabeth into that of Queen Victoria, founded a British dynasty of rajahs in Sarawak on the north coast. Believing that the Christian faith that he held was the deepest need of his subjects, he invited missionaries to North Borneo. A famed Oxford oarsman with a surgeon's training, Francis McDougall, took holy orders and sailed in 1848 with a colleague to Kuching, the little capital of Sarawak, which is the center of the mission work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that has developed from his pioneering. Schools, hospital work, and evangelism formed a triangular foundation upon which a strong structure has been built.

A vignette of one local development out of hundreds will dramatize more clearly than statistical generalizations that the birth and growth of the Christian church depend primarily on the faithful obedience of the individual Christian.

A young Dyak, named Goh, the Christian son of a North Borneo head-hunter, left St. Luke's School at Simanggang a few years ago. After traveling for days on end, he came to a village that showed itself to be not only friendly but anxious to learn. He started a simple school there, which the friendly Dyak peasants supported. For his lessons he used the one book published in their dialect—the Gospels.

Under Goh's teaching the knowledge of the gospel story quickened in a considerable number of these peasants a desire to become Christian. Feeling wholly incapable of carrying forward their training in the Christian way of life, Goh found means of sending a letter to the Reverend A. W. Stanton, the principal of his old school on the coast. Stanton, who was also the district missionary representing the S.P.G. in the north of Borneo, read the simple story of the school that Goh had started and of the wish of the peasants to become Chris-

tian. The letter closed with the words, "You must come." Under this Goh wrote in emphatic capital letters, "YOU MUST COME." Under those words Mr. Stanton saw the letters, "P.T.O." Obediently turning over, he discovered the whole of the back of the sheet of paper covered in the largest possible capital letters with "YOU MUST COME"!

The call was irresistible. Stanton started out with a trained Dyak catechist. After being paddled in a canoe upstream for two days under dense jungle, he trudged for many miles through swamp and rice field and at last reached the village of Swagei Pinang, where Goh and his friends received him with great rejoicing. The catechist stayed on to teach a large group of peasants the meaning of the Christian faith and life, while Mr. Stanton returned to his varied work. Subsequently the Christians whom the catechist had trained were baptized into the church and later confirmed.

In 1942, a few months before the Japanese tide swept along the shores of Borneo, a Dyak priest, the Reverend M. Nanang, and Mr. Stanton took Bishop Hollis, of the diocese of Labuan and Sarawak, to visit Swagei Pinang. Timothy, a catechist, steered, and Peter, a fisher-boatman, paddled the little boat in which the others sat in drenching rain on six-inch boards, with their chins to their knees and their backs against tightly rolled bundles of bedding. They stopped repeatedly at Christian villages where the church, the school, and the little house for the Dyak minister had been built by the people. At last they reached Goh's village.

Standing in the running stream, the bishop baptized twenty-one waiting Christians and walked back to the crowded church, where on the following day over sixty of the peasants were confirmed and a hundred and ten joined in the Holy Communion—the first fruit of the faith and practical loyalty of a Christian Dyak schoolboy.

The crucial part played by the translated Gospels in helping Goh to create that village Dyak church in Borneo draws our attention to a baffling and perplexing problem—the many languages and dialects spoken by the peoples of all the areas covered by this book. Those languages must be mastered by the preacher and teacher and the gospel must be translated into them if the church is to grow. A missionary on the north side of Borneo is in one day called upon to conduct services in as many as eight languages and dialects—Malay, three Chinese dialects, and three forms of Dyak, as well as English. In a single confirmation service of one hour in the Christian leper camp at Kuching at the western end of Sarawak the S.P.G. missionary uses six dialects.

The missionary in such an area must indeed be a man of infinite versatility if he is to meet fully all the calls upon him as preacher, teacher, trainer of Dyak and Chinese theological students, architect and superintendent of buildings for church, school, and manse, multi-lingual interpreter, careful translator from New Testament Greek to Dyak or Chinese, and first-aid doctor. He must also be sufficiently a mechanic and saint combined to grapple without loss of temper with the rebellious gasoline engine of a launch in a steamy jungle creek where the thermometer stands above ninety degrees.

Antagonism is common between the Dyaks and the Chinese in Borneo. Yet the training of Dyaks for the Christian ministry was initiated by a Chinese Christian named Chung Ah Luk. Educated at a Christian school in Borneo, he managed the sailing boat of the S.P.G. Traveling thus upriver continually with missionaries brought him into constant friendly touch with the Dyaks. Chung became a catechist and was later ordained. He then trained a young Dyak Christian to assist and at last to succeed him. A miracle of grace was dramatized as this Dyak minister, the Reverend Si Migaat, administered

Communion to the aged Chinese Christian on his deathbed. Seven Chinese ministers, four Dyaks, and one Indian were sharing with the European staff of the S.P.G. the pastoral work of a varied young Christian community when the Japanese invasion reached Borneo. The tantalizing possibilities of advance are suggested by calls in 1942 from communities numbering as many as thirty families each.

The Chinese of Borneo owe an unforgettable debt to slender, wiry Pennsylvania Methodist, James M. Hoover. A close friend of Rajah Charles Brooke of Sarawak, "Tuan" Hoover, as he was called, came first to Borneo to minister to a large body of Chinese Christians who had come over from the Fukien province of China. Rajah Brooke wanted them to show the wild Dyaks the advantages of living upon intensive cultivation of the soil. From 1903 till he died of malignant malaria in 1935, Hoover threw his boundless physical energy, spiritual fire, and moral sincerity into developing a self-supporting, sturdy Christian community. Blending education and evangelism with mastery of the mechanical techniques of hulling rice and producing electric power and light and improved rubber plantations, he left up the Rejang River Valley no less than fifty-six churches and as many schools, with two Chinese district superintendents to carry on his work of guidance and stimulus. Mrs. Hoover, the daughter of an English missionary, has a mastery of Mandarin Chinese and of the Foochow dialect, as well as of Malay and Tamil. During the Japanese occupation she has been preparing in Australia to go back to Borneo to carry on her outstanding work in the development of girls' education.

Turning now to Malaya, a fresh aspect of our theme of Christian witness is suggested by the experiences of an evangelistic missionary with some medical knowledge. Seeing hun-

dreds of Malayans of all ages feasting in a coconut grove, he asked the meaning of the festivity.

"We have driven off the evil spirits who brought sickness to our village," one of them explained in answer to his inquiry.

"How did you drive off the spirits?" asked the missionary.

"We asked the *pawang*[1] of our *kampong*[2] and he told us to make many darts of paper and to cut many wooden stakes. He spoke many charms this morning. This afternoon we all gathered together. The men and the older boys dashed everywhere throwing the paper darts at the evil spirits and driving them into the sea. When the *pawang* told us that all had been driven off, we set up these stakes with the flags to make a boundary to keep off the evil spirits that brought the sickness. Now we are rejoicing together."

As darkness fell the missionary saw the people going back to their homes and to the sick members of their community. This failure of their futile magic to effect cure was in such contrast with the frequent success of the missionary when his aid was sought that little by little the lesson worked its effect upon them, as is suggested by his subsequent experience.

In each Malayan *kampong* is a *dukun*, a man who claims the skill to heal all diseases with herbal remedies and charms. In one village the *dukun's* own little girl suffered from a severe stomach pain. Her father rubbed a paste made of leaves mixed with coconut oil over the child's stomach, murmuring incantations all the time. The missionary told the *dukun* that, if this treatment did not succeed, he could come to the mission bungalow for other remedies. Within a short time the father asked the missionary for medicine for his daughter, thus tacitly confessing his own failure to heal her.

[1] The master of charms and incantations that put evil spirits to flight.
[2] Village community.

Another man, with his left side paralyzed, called in the Malay *dukun*. He told the missionary that he would apply to him if the *dukun's* treatment failed.

"What is his treatment?" inquired the missionary.

"He asked for a cup of water. Then he wrote on a piece of paper what he said was a verse from the Koran. He put the paper into the water until the ink had soaked into the water. Then he said some prayers over the cup and told me to drink the water. He then told me that I should soon be feeling better."

Three days later the sufferer asked the missionary for treatment from the hospital. Within a short time he was out and about. The missionary and the Christian hospital stood ready in the spirit of the Good Samaritan to render help. Such "clinical Christianity," however, inevitably goes beyond the healing of the man's body to radiate the spirit of Christ into his soul. Healing is thus both a service to man and a witness of the gospel, a concrete action of the love of God through the hands of his children.

A frequent sight in Malaya is a *keramat*. This is the grave of a reputed Moslem saint of earlier days that has become a shrine. The worshipper vows to bring offerings if the spirit that inhabits the place will answer his prayer. A piece of cloth is tied to an overhanging tree, somewhat as a man ties a piece of string round a finger, to remind the spirit of what is expected of him.

As we gaze on such scenes as these, what is our attitude as persons from whom Christ has banished once and for all the fear of evil spirits? We see our brother-man face to face with the elemental mystery of life. He is burdened with suffering. He dreads disease for those he loves as well as for himself. In a blind quest for power to control or ward off the evils that menace him, he prostrates himself before non-existent "spirits"

or is bamboozled into futile gestures—like the paper darts described above. This ends in tragic frustration.

Hundreds of millions of our suffering fellowmen are stumbling through the night—a night haunted with religious dread of evil spiritual forces and hag-ridden by preventable and curable disease. No one would argue that we should be right to withhold the healing that our knowledge of science can bring to them. Have we, then, any right to withhold—under the guise of tolerance—that freedom from spiritual terrors that the light of the gospel, through no virtue of our own, has given to us?

The old question still rings and must ring insistently in our ears:

> Can *we* whose souls are lighted
> With wisdom from on high,
> *Can* we, to souls benighted,
> The lamp of life deny?

The treatment of lepers by Batak pagans in Sumatra is a further illustration of the cruelties that those under the spell of spirit worship commit and of the light and liberty that the Christian church, using science as its tool, brings to suffering people. A German missionary, Herr Steinsiek, noticed smoke rising from a little hut in which a leper woman lived. He was hurrying on to meet a group of students, so he did not pause. On returning with a Batak preacher he found no hut, but a man feeding a fire where it had been. The man, to prevent the leprosy from spreading, had shut the diseased woman in the hut and burned it and her. Her little son was weeping bitterly by the fire.

"Child, stop your crying," snapped the man. "Your mother was not a person any more; she was only a leper."

Steinsiek found that it was usual for a family to isolate a leper in a small hut built in a remote spot and leave him or

her to live or die. Often, however, the victim was burned to death. Ludwig Nommensen, moved by this and other reports, asked the Barmen mission board to finance the creation and maintenance of a leper village. The workers overcame the opposition of the local chiefs, and in 1900 Huta Salem—the Village of Peace—was opened as a leper colony. No longer eating their hearts out in exiled solitude, the lepers jointly cultivate their foodstuffs in cleanly community life and receive all the help that medical science and loving hands can provide. This transformation of life, physical, social, economic, and emotional, springs from a root that many would consider to be "unpractical": the personal and corporate worship of "Our Father" in place of the attempted appeasement of demonic spirits of disease.

The invasion of life by twentieth-century science can intensify rather than diminish the incidence of contagious and infectious diseases. In the Pacific Ocean, for instance, leprosy shows a tendency to spread from island to island as communication by sea and air increases. To land on Malaita Island in the Solomons and go into the Fanaba Hospital and the Leprosarium of the Melanesian Mission brings the visitor face to face with a heroic effort to help many islands to combat this dread disease. The British administration for all that area of the Southwest Pacific shows its appreciation of the effective fight thus put up by providing all the drugs and a half of the salary of the missionary doctor, as he and his wife and the Christian nursing sisters at Fanaba go from one to another of the little houses, with their trim gardens, in which the lepers live.

Missionaries everywhere in the Pacific have tried, often with but sketchy knowledge of medicine, to help the island peoples to fight disease. Although the evangelistic or educational missionary may have received only the modicum of training that

the prescribed course on tropical diseases affords, Christian pity for his suffering charges leads him to render what clinical help is possible.

The urgency of this problem is intensified by the fact that the ocean kept back from these peoples through unnumbered centuries the worst of mankind's diseases. For this reason they had not developed immunity to them. So, when Asiatic and European man brought to them through the past hundred and fifty years tuberculosis, smallpox, hookworm, measles, influenza, venereal disease, leprosy, elephantiasis, and yaws, many island peoples were threatened with extinction because of their lack of resistance.

The most widespread and transforming health service ever made available to scattered island peoples has now been fully launched in the Melanesian and Fijian Islands through the cooperation of the Rockefeller Foundation of New York, the British government of the islands, and the missionary medical organization. Indeed, its influence will be felt all over the Pacific.

Twenty years of adventurous service voyaging among the Pacific islands in the service of suffering humanity familiarized Dr. S. M. Lambert, son of a Methodist missionary, with the terrible diseases that afflict the peoples of the Pacific. We get a gruesome "close-up" of one of these diseases through his eyes:

> At Boera I got my first real look at a yaws-stricken community. This hideous thing was apparent on the bodies and faces of at least a third of the people, men and women with noses reduced to yawning holes in the middle of a flat scar. Fingers and toes curled like withering twigs. Swarms of flies carried the filth-borne germ. I looked into baby faces and saw how the process of healing had drawn their lips together into a featureless surface with an opening so small that you could hardly get a lead pencil through. . . . The tropics are dreamlands, released from the balance of northern things. Life down there moves be-

tween poetic loveliness and monstrous disgust. I have since seen many other villages like Boera; and I should have become callous, seeing so much of it. I could get used to the maimed adults, but the children always wrung my heart.[3]

Dr. Lambert has created a medical school in Fiji where some of the brightest Christian youths from different islands go to be trained. They will be officially known as Native Medical Practitioners.

A dramatic clash between the ghoulish powers of a New Guinea sorcerer and the powers released by the spirit of Christ carries our theme a stage further.

"Over a hundred men have been killed by that dagger without its touching them!" said Dean John D. Bodger of Dogura, Papua, at the southeast end of New Guinea. As I handled the venomous-looking carved hardwood dagger with a leering demon's head on its hilt, I listened to his explanation that its sorcerer owner had slain all those men through magical incantations. Western psychologists cover the whole murderous activity of the sorcerer with the blanket word "hetero-suggestion," or suggestion from without, as distinguished from the "auto-suggestion" that a man exercises on himself. Sheer psychological terror kills the man who believes that the sorcerer is hurling the forces of *mana* against him. The sorcery, however, breaks harmlessly upon a Christian Papuan who, reinforced by worship in the church with his fellow-Christians and by the shared fellowship of Holy Communion, knows that in face of Christ and his Cross "devils fear and fly." A Papuan Christian (or indeed any other former animist, whether African or Asiatic) would laugh to scorn the idea that demonic powers do not exist. He believes that the demons or devil-spirits are active and powerful, but that Christ is able

[3] *Yankee Doctor in Paradise*, by Sylvester Maxwell Lambert. Boston, Little, Brown & Company, 1941. Used by permission.

to overwhelm and rout them, protecting God's children from their malignant efforts. The Papuan, as a Christian who believes in evil demonic spirits whom Christ can cast out, finds in the gospel narrative literal and realistic confirmation of his analysis.

The conflict between rival spiritual forces for the souls of men takes subtler but no less testing forms among a people of advanced Buddhist culture. Nai Banchong Bansiddhi, while still a Buddhist, entered as a student into Bangkok Christian College. Becoming a Christian and graduating with high honors, he entered training for the Christian ministry and became pastor of the church having the largest membership in all Thailand. In the ministry of this church in Chiengmai, a city in the far north of the state, he revealed ability of an unusual order, with an authentic poetic quality and literary gifts. He sent his son, Kru Banchop, to the Philippine Islands to complete his education at the Union Seminary in Manila, where the youth took high honors and on his graduation returned to Chiengmai. He found the whole situation transformed.

About the year 1934, his father had lost his Christian foothold. Under Buddhist pressure he denied his faith, resigned from the church, donned the yellow robe, and was received as a Buddhist priest. The feudal prince of the city, the Chao Luang, publicly paid for the expenses of his temple ordination, which aroused jubilation among the leaders of Thai Buddhism.

Outwardly, the life of Nai Banchong Bansiddhi was calm. Beneath the surface surged a tumultuous conflict. "When I worked in the garden and saw the vine," he said later, "I thought of Jonah, and how, like him, I had run away from God. When I sat down to eat, I had no one to whom I could offer thanks for the food before me. When joy or sorrow

came, I had no Christian friends with whom to share my lot. When my son came back from Manila, his gentle Christian conduct touched my heart. At dawn, when I could not sleep, I would hear the roosters crow. Then I would think of Peter, who denied his Lord before cockcrow, and, like Peter, I wept bitterly. During those six years, when I went about my work, my heart was dry."

The son, Kru Banchop, longed to win his father back to his Christian faith and every morning in his own home he prayed for him. The father formed the habit of going to his son's home to share in the morning prayer and meditation. After some months his love for Christ triumphed and the struggle for his soul was won. He broke his Buddhist allegiance and made fresh confession of his Christian faith before the whole church, in whose comradeship he now rejoices.

In these episodes, and in practically every other scene in which we may watch the spiritual struggle by which the church grows, we see that the sources of strength or of weakness hark back into the quality of Christian education.

Souls are won to discipleship through the spoken or printed presentation of the gospel. But will they stand when called on to endure hardness? The sturdiness, skill, and sustained zeal of the leadership of the Christian communities as well as the integrity of the rank and file of its membership are largely shaped by the teachers who train these converts. The education of converted Christians for leadership ranks high in importance in our strategy.

The sharing of Christian truth with young Buddhists or Moslems is, however, almost as central in the educator's life as is that of training the convinced Christian. Among many examples two may be suggested in the pioneer and difficult field

of the education of girls, one in a Moslem, the other in a Buddhist, community.

No people have been more remote from the converting power of the Christian faith than the Moslems of Malaya, for the British have been reluctant to oppose the wishes of the local petty sultans by permitting evangelism. We are startled, therefore, to find that the Methodist boarding school for Moslem girls in Malacca, conducted up to the time of the fall of Singapore by the Reverend and Mrs. R. A. Blasdell, was full to overflowing and with a long waiting list of girls from the better class of Moslem families. The history and the teaching of Christianity are central to the curriculum of that school. The dormitory life under Mrs. Blasdell has opened up the meaning of Christian living and the ideals of the Christian home. The war stopped Mr. Blasdell from carrying through plans for opening an industrial school for Malay Moslem boys. Here is one among many examples of priceless Christian educational witness in a difficult but potentially fertile field that must be carried forward in the postwar world.

Burma, again, is a land in which the nation's educational organization of Buddhist monastic schools afforded no education for girls. Dr. John S. Furnivall, in his *Educational Progress in Southeast Asia*, in analyzing female education, remarks that "Karen and Burmese Christians . . . seem to place a higher value on education as a cultural asset." [4] He quotes in support the rather startling contrast between Karen Buddhist women with a literacy rate of 4.9 per cent and Burman Buddhist women with a literacy rate of 12.2 per cent, on the one hand, and on the other, Karen Christian women with a rate of 27.7 per cent. Few Burman women are Christian. Clearly the cause of the difference lies in the quickening of the per-

[4] *Educational Progress in Southeast Asia*, p. 62. New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943.

sonality by Christ, what John Masefield calls the glory of the lighted mind.

The power of "clinical Christianity" in the trinity of preaching, teaching, and healing finds striking illustration in all parts of Asia and the islands. For example, in the scattered villages of the malarial Irrawaddy Delta, the need for medical help, especially among girls and women, is clamant. Traditional cures are to plaster dung on a burn when a child has stumbled over the cooking pot, to recite charms over a septic wound and make offerings to the spirits as the inflammation gains ground, and at the birth of a baby to "roast" the mother for seven days before a great fire. Few of the peasants when ill can travel the long distance to the nearest government hospital, which is always in a town.

A missionary nursing sister, Miss Avice Cam, left the finely equipped wards and operating rooms of the Queen Alexandra Hospital at Mandalay, spurred by this need and by the vision of what might be done by trained Karen and Burman village nurses. In spite of loneliness and suspicion, ignorance, and opposition, she set up a tiny village hospital at Pedaw and persuaded a few expectant mothers to abandon the "roasting" treatment and come to her maternity ward. With daring strategy, brilliant teaching, and exhaustless energy she created little dispensaries across the Delta, and staffed them with Christian nurses, mainly Karens, trained especially for village work at her own old hospital. She herself traveled by boat constantly up and down the Delta to help them.

One central feature in her strategic effort was to bring all her nurses to the maternity hospital on the first Thursday in every month to report progress. Can you see Miss Cam on that day each month surrounded by this staunch group of women fighters against disease, writing up their reports, listening to their problems and giving advice, refilling their drug

bottles, paying them their salaries? Miss Cam had a tiny chapel for meditation and prayer. The nurses sat there with her, sang hymns, and each offered her special petition and thanksgiving. Around an earth-tray fireplace a gay hour of chat over cups of tea was ended by the hoot of the approaching steamer, to which they hurried off with hearts braced in comradeship for shouldering solitary responsibility again for another month.

Miss Websper in 1941 left the Queen Alexandra Hospital at Mandalay to take over on Miss Cam's retirement. When the Japanese penetrated into Burma, Miss Websper refused to leave her work until the British military authorities ordered her to go; and even then she became a military nurse. The Karen and Burman nurses stayed at their posts. When the dark cloud of invasion and war lifts from their land, reinforcement by every power of hand and heart is the least that we can lend to all such heroic and lonely bands who extend Christ's healing hand in dark places.

We have caught glimpses of Christians of many tribes and nations and of diversified talents and varied experience in action as pastors and teachers, as translators and administrators, as doctors and nurses, industrial technicians and skilled agriculturalists. They have been at work training a new generation in an understanding of living, healing sick minds as well as diseased bodies, interpreting across the chasms of different tongues the same gospel, now to the twentieth-century intelligentsia of Asia and now to the sons and daughters of Stone Age cannibals.

Western Christian churches have sent in the past century a more astonishing flow of vigorous Christian service to these peoples in Southeast Asia and the island world than can be discovered at any previous time in the history of our faith.

That outpouring of redemptive service has created among primitive peoples on the continent of Asia and in the islands Christian churches of large and increasing size and also of growing moral strength and spiritual understanding. Although the Christian evangel has met stronger resistance from Islam and Buddhism, reinforced by secular nationalism, it has made notable advances here and there among followers of these systems. Those churches, although widely scattered, are becoming increasingly conscious both of their essential oneness in the universal church and of their creative function in shaping a new society.

A new day will dawn for them, as well as for us all. This will call for the scrapping of old precedents. The churches there have lived through years during which the rule of British, French, Dutch, and American has been wholly obliterated and when the comradeship of the Western Christian leadership—save through prayer—has been cut off. We at home are called to adjust our spiritual and mental attitudes to the needs of that new day.

Chapter Eight

THE FORGING OF NEW COMMUNITY:

CREATING ONENESS ACROSS BARRIERS OF RACE AND CLASS

An American merchant ship ploughing her way through the waters of the mid-Pacific was torpedoed off Honolulu a few days after Pearl Harbor. Some of her crew managed to launch two boats stocked with some food and water before the ocean engulfed their ship.

One of the boats [writes Mr. A. H. Eastman of the London Missionary Society on the Gilbert Islands] ran over three thousand miles and had been at sea thirty-one days without reaching land. There seemed little chance of survival and the men were becoming exhausted. At last they reached one of the islands in the Gilbert group. The boat was caught in the breakers and turned right over end to end, throwing the men into the sea and trapping some underneath. As they struggled to get a foothold among the breakers, a native appeared on the beach and began wading and swimming out to them. He was a big fellow, naked except for a loin cloth, and carrying a savage-looking bush knife. What was he? Cannibal or Christian?

To their joy they discovered he had come not to attack them, but to their rescue, hacking away with his knife to free the trapped men. Soon after other natives appeared to help him. The survivors were too weak to walk, so were carried across the island to the village. To the amazement of the Americans, they were greeted on their arrival in English, for there were missionary-trained Gilbertese teachers and pastors on the island. When the Americans' story was heard, the teachers gave to the white men all the supplies of flour, rice, and other foreign food which the mission ship *John Williams* had left for them a few weeks previously. The people of the village ransacked their stores to

supply the shipwrecked men with clothing and food, and all without a thought of payment. As the Americans said afterwards, "We could not have been treated better had we been royal guests or long-lost relations. Thank God for missionaries."

More than a hundred years ago, when the Gilbert atolls were peopled by the primitive savage ancestors of the present generation, Samoan Christian pioneers came to them with the gospel. For thirty years they carried on the work with an occasional visit from an English missionary. Then Hiram Bingham, Junior, son of a New England pioneer missionary in the Hawaiian Islands, and his truly dauntless wife reached the Gilberts from Boston as emissaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Here, in spite of long periods of illness and defective eyesight, Bingham achieved a sequence of tasks never before or since carried through by any one man. He reduced the language to writing, made a dictionary and a grammar of it; and then, through many years of labor, translated into that tongue the whole of the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek. Against unexampled obstacles he saw it through the press, his wife sharing the reading of every verse and bracing him to fresh effort when exhaustion made progress almost impossible. In that book the spiritual and moral fiber of the Gilbertese Protestant Christian community has ever since found its daily sustenance.

That Bible, however, needs its interpreters. No primitive people can at once slough off all their animist ways. The level of life in some Gilbert atolls is below what we should think of as fully Christian. Their living would be at a much higher level had more and better trained island pastor-teachers been available. The long boat journeys from atoll to atoll, the poor anchorages, and the scattered population have so far made intensive work by Western missionaries practically impossible. The airplane may change all that.

These island Christians put us to shame, however, in some qualities of Christian life. On one atoll of the Gilberts, for example, in 1943 they collected about five hundred and seventy-five dollars as their contribution toward the work of the London Missionary Society in Africa, India, and China. A few days later Japanese bombers blasted the islanders' church into ruins. The visiting missionary suggested that they subtract from their world gift the amount required for rebuilding their own church. The Gilbertese vetoed this idea and paid the whole amount into the Society's funds. The officers and the Polynesian crew of *John Williams V* clubbed together and put up one hundred and thirty dollars to start a fund for reconstructing the bombed church.

That tiny setting shows in miniature the whole vast unfolding drama. We watch the encounter of God with Mammon in the soul of man, in which heroic Christians—white and brown—play their destined parts, while shipwrecked men and bombing warriors, American and Asiatic, surge in from sea and sky.

First, we find everywhere the leaven of the gospel progressively transforming the character of the community into which it is thrust.

Second, that Christian gospel proves itself, by the evidence of today's anthropologists, to be the one power that can give newness of life to a primitive community shaken by modern impacts.

Third, that changing community is best nourished by individual and corporate instructed reading of the Bible, because it alone speaks continuously to them the full will of God in their own language.

Fourth, this process of re-creating community has been achieved and is being sustained through the cooperation of East and West, each bringing its native skills. For instance, the Samoan islanders as missionaries to the Gilberts have done

most of the teaching and preaching; but the translation of the Bible and their own training were due to the work of the Western missionary. That shipwrecked sailor was right when he concluded his letter, "Thank God for the missionaries"; although actually he had not seen any missionary on the Gilbert atoll.

Fifth, modern paganism brought in by the white man is now being fought by island Christians in comradeship with white men. A piquant example of this, published by the *American Legion Monthly*, carries a challenge that goes deeper than appears on the surface. American officers in a Pacific island were startled to find on their bulletin board in the officers' mess the following notice placed there by the local chief:

> American soldiers are requested to please be a little more careful in their choice of language, especially when natives are assisting them in their unloading of ships, trucks, and in erecting abodes. American missionaries spent many years among us and taught us the words we shouldn't use. Every day, however, American soldiers use those words and the good work your missionaries did is being undermined by your careless profanity.

Since the first year of this century one continuously uplifting influence among the Gilberts has been Pastor Jupeli. "My people before I left the island tried to persuade me to get shoes," he said to another delegate at the Madras conference in 1938. " 'All the delegates will wear shoes,' they urged. But I said, 'No, it is not well to imitate their civilization. Let me as an island Christian walk as I have always done, in my bare feet.' " And so that benign Samoan saint went among us at Madras barefooted, radiating simplicity, loving kindness, and sturdy independence from conventions. Commenting further upon the ways of modern "civilized" man he said words that repay pondering: "We island peoples are not the only folk who have not entirely given up the old gods!"

Sixth and last, the generous gifts of the bombed Gilbertese Christians to help the growth of brother churches in Asia and Africa throw a searchlight upon the miracle of the universal church. Far-spread though many of the branches may be, we all belong to the One Vine.

We will now pursue that dramatic theme factor by factor, with illustrative scenes from the life of the different peoples under review.

Why is the invasion of Asiatic and Oceanic man by Western mechanism so disruptive of his old community life? The word "power" is the key to the secret. As we have seen, all primitive peoples (and this is also true of the common people in Asiatic Buddhist and Moslem lands) are controlled by the belief that a reservoir of spirit power, *mana*, exists in the universe; and that by magic spells or by eating the body of another person, a man can draw upon that reservoir to increase his own *mana* or power.[1]

The mining prospector or trader, the mechanic or planter, the steamship captain or airman, invades that primitive society with an intoxicating yet terrifying control of "power." That power works through the electric spark in the internal combustion engine in the plane, motor boat, tractor, truck, or drilling mechanism, as well as through the miracle of the radio and the talking picture. Primitive man gapes in awe at this titanic control of *mana*, which makes the invader appear to him as a Colossus bestriding the world.

Two transforming changes take place when, for example, the Indonesian is trained as a mechanic and finds *himself* in control of this power.

First, he discovers that the power works in the machine by what he comes to know as scientific law—an utterly new idea

[1] For a fuller explanation of *mana*, see Chapter Four.

to him. No magic spell or ritual dance influences the sparking plug. His belief in the magical control of *mana* was, however, the spiritual root of the primitive's community life. So primitive society withers as scientific power poisons its religious root. Mechanistic civilization in every last stronghold of animism the world around is disintegrating the community life of primitive man.

Second, the tribesman's every act was governed by tribal custom. He had no private property. Now he has become an individual and the wages that he earns are his own. He controls machines. He uses his leisure time in mine or garage with absolutely no guidance or control from his old community life. A twig broken from the community tree, he receives no spiritual or moral sap from the old root. And we of the West have done this to him.

In this tumult of interacting forces, government, by its administration of the life of the people, by its development of education, and by its success or failure in controlling the white man's commercialism, has an immensely influential part to play. Government, however, is powerless of itself to provide new religious or spiritual roots for new community. Without the Christian gospel no other influences can achieve renaissance of shattered community life. This is attested by expert scientific analysts. Dr. Felix M. Keesing, for instance, professor of anthropology in the University of Hawaii, is an outstanding living authority on these peoples. His great grandparents went from England to cannibal Fiji as pioneer missionaries. Born in the Malay jungles, Dr. Keesing himself was brought up in New Zealand and took his university training in America. He says:

> Missions in Christianized groups are perhaps in a better position than any other agency to contribute to the stabilization of the changing native life. Their approval or disapproval counts importantly in shaping

the native response to cultural elements old and new. Whether feelings of inferiority and shame as regards native ways of living are to the fore or those of confidence and pride depends on whether the missions supply negative or positive sanctions. It is not too much to say that with the mission rests the responsibility in large measure for the success or otherwise of all steps taken in native welfare, medical, economic, political, and social. *Religion in these Christianized groups continues to be, as in the pre-white days, a prime integrating force.*[2]

Would not other religions provide a basis for new community life? So far as the invading religious cultures of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam are concerned we have seen that they did little more in Indonesia than change the name of the supreme object of worship first to Shiva, then to Buddha, and then to Allah, leaving the old animist superstitions but little affected. In the southern islands of the Philippines Islam did create a community, but it was one of fiercely intolerant pirate Moslems who, up to the present century, regarded suicide attacks on other tribes as the one sure entrance ticket to Allah's paradise. Furthermore, an examination of all those faiths in action shows that within none of them is any principle that integrates the woman as well as the man, and the child with the adult, into one living community of persons of equal priceless value to the universal Father. Jesus Christ initiates everywhere a process that can only find fulfillment by creating on earth human community through redemptive change in thought, will, and action.

Christ therefore fulfills and does not destroy the real meaning of *mana* for primitive peoples. The Christian missionary and native minister bring the good news that the universal *Mana*, or Power, is not an impersonal reservoir of spirit power

[2] *The South Seas in the Modern World*, by Felix M. Keesing, p. 242. New York, The John Day Co., 1941. Used by permission. The italics are mine.

or life force, but a Creator-Father of all mankind. He is wholly good. He can be approached by *all* his children. In him is all power. In Jesus Christ that power, that *mana*, is available for release into our lives; so that we "can do all things through Christ who strengthens us."

In every land and island that we have visited in this study we have seen young plants of indestructible community growing from this root in the old soil. These local churches are part of the universal church. Everywhere they as well as we of the West are faulty. Sensuality, lying, bickering, and other sins are within the churches as they were in the churches whose sins St. Paul flayed. Those early churches were, after all, the mother of us all. Magic formulæ still have a hold on millions of Christians—as they had on the folk at Ephesus even after St. Paul made a bonfire there of manuscripts of magic incantations. The church is, however, in all these places the leaven of new community. Helping peoples to throw off the old dread of evil spirits that terrorized them, it also aids them in throwing off the poisons of our contemporary "civilization." Here and there in the tropics traders or planters and their wives gathered at their clubs, or company promoters in the smoking rooms of the liners, still belabor the missionary and deride the "native Christian." Their hidden reason for doing so is that the Christian "native" has learned enough of the dignity of man not to be the pliant tool of an acquisitive Western civilization, and the missionary fights exploitation by those who would wax rich on the brown man's labor; moreover, there is likely to be among many Westerners who live in the tropics solely for personal gain a deep-lying resentment because the missionary teaches moral standards that discredit their own conduct.

One completely out-of-date delusion blinds millions of American and British people to a true view of the mission-

ary's creative rôle. They still see him, and her, as the conservative puritanical censor attempting to impose Victorian standards on unspoiled primitive man. A hundred years ago this criticism might have been to a limited degree valid. In regard to matters like the concealment of the whole human body under clothing as an essential of Christian modesty, they were largely children of their own age. Many games were made *tabu* by early missionaries; and the shapeless gown from neck to ankle, now called the Mother Hubbard, entered on its long and stubbornly sustained reign. Today the situation has been transformed by modern psychology and the insights opened up by anthropology, to which missionaries in all lands have themselves made great contributions based on their unique intimacy with the peoples. The present situation in regard to dress is amusingly illustrated in the recent experience of an American woman missionary on furlough who went to a dance while on deputation at a "smart" women's college. A group of girl students in decolleté evening gowns gathered round her. One of them said, "I expect, as a missionary, you are scandalized by our dress."

"On the contrary," she replied with a smile, "you seem to me ridiculously overdressed. Where I live none of the women wear more than a row of beads, some tattooing, and a tiny grass skirt!"

Today the missionary forces are doing far more than any other influence toward conserving the really valuable elements in primitive society under the pressure of "native-white" culture contacts. We discover in many areas, however, a more startling example of the community-building power of the gospel than that of preserving old community life by grafting it on to new religious roots. Where ancient feuds between conflicting tribes have made unity unthinkable, the Christian church, by bridging the gulf of intertribal antagonism, creates

new and richer communities. Dr. Gordon Seagrave, in his *Burma Surgeon*, describes the furious antagonisms separating Karen from Shan and Kachin from Taungthu in Burma, and declares that among the nurses being trained in the Christian hospital "we wouldn't tolerate any race differentiation. They had to be bigger than their race or we had no further use for them. . . . Now race has nothing to do with any of them. They are much bigger than their race." [3]

Milder spirits may raise their eyebrows at his highhanded use of such a phrase as "we wouldn't tolerate." Here, however, is a fine example of the need for drastic intolerance of intolerance. The Christian community survives in strength only where it is absolutely intolerant of those evils that contradict its central affirmation—that oneness in Christ bridges all human chasms.

Why has the Christian message created new community in some areas of Southeast Asia and of the Southwest Pacific more swiftly and securely than in others? Out of many available examples we will take two: the ninety thousand Christians of Fiji and the third of a million Batak Christians on Sumatra. Analysis suggests that, in both cases, the incoming missionary forces seized with singular insight and skill upon some central characteristics of the primitive society that they found and utilized them in building the new community.

The church rooted itself as strongly as it did in the soil of Fijian life largely because the system that Methodism brought with it of placing multiple group leadership on the shoulders of laymen is congenial to the islanders' tribal social system and to their psychological traits.[4] Responsibility was laid upon

[3] *Burma Surgeon*, p. 47. New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1943. Used by permission.

[4] A similar suitability helped the Presbyterian missionaries from Canada and Scotland to create community in the New Hebrides.

Fijians as fellowship leaders, society stewards, lay preachers, teachers, and catechists, graduating up into ordained ministers. The fact that the village chief tends to be the leader in the local church is a weakness in some ways but a strength in others. As we enter a village we can see how naturally Fijian self-support is achieved. The local chief and his council have provided land for the school-church and for the Fijian pastor-teacher's house and garden. Both buildings are set up by the work of the people themselves with wood contributed by the community. The boys and girls of the village help the teacher to till his garden. Presents of food, sleeping mats, and so on are regularly made to the pastor by the people. In the earlier days, when business was mainly by barter, coconut oil, sandalwood, and other island products were put in the "offering." These goods the church authorities could convert into money, through the missionaries.

While the missionary from Australia has always so far remained as district superintendent, the responsibility placed on the Fijian "circuit" minister has grown steadily. Today, Western commercialism, with the plantation system, is eating into the old communal life and the authority of chiefs. This intensifies the need for a stronger leadership of the Christian community in the hands of a better educated, more efficiently trained, and more deeply consecrated ministry. It emphasizes the call for attractive Christian literature in the Fijian language as well as in English, and for the training of able teachers, men and women, to give religious teaching in the government schools. For with the weakening of the old tribal structure, the Christian church is the one living, potent community around which a stable new communal life of ordered freedom can grow.

The largest single church in the Pacific area worshipping in one common language, the Fijian Methodist Church, has

had no internal schism or dispute in its history of well over a century, and is entirely self-supporting so far as all its own institutions and Fijian ministers and lay workers are concerned. It has its own synod and church courts and supports a missionary outreach loyally maintained by the Fijians themselves to New Guinea, the Solomons, and the Australian aborigines.

As Ludwig Nommensen and his growing corps of colleagues grappled with the task of organizing the Batak church, whose swift growth we watched in Chapter Four, they wove through the years a remarkable tapestry of interdependent threads of service. The Bataks have always had reverence for their *gurus*,[5] at once spiritual leaders in worship and in teaching. The vacant place of the discredited pagan *guru* was filled by training many Christian teacher-pastor-evangelists. These grew in numbers until over a thousand of them were in charge mainly of village Christian churches, with responsibility for teaching the young generation. The Dutch government supported their work as school teachers. The Batak church was responsible for the religious side of their work as pastors and preachers.

As Mr. J. Merle Davis has said in analyzing the work of the local teacher-pastor: "He is the key to the growth and morale of the Christian forces of Batakland and the high degree of self-support which has been reached. This hard-working, versatile man is the center about which the life of the community revolves." [6] The teacher-pastors, helped in their work by thou-

[5] The word is a relic of the Hindu religious influence in Indonesia, the *guru* being at his best a sage and a saint—a spiritual leader and teacher.

[6] *The Economic Basis of the Church* (Vol. V of the Madras Series), p. 398.

sands of presbyters, or lay workers, each of whom is responsible for keeping contact with some twenty-five families, have, as has been said, "their fingers on the physical and moral pulse of the community."

The work of cheering, counseling, and bracing the teacher-pastors was and is in the hands of some sixty ordained Batak ministers, mostly trained at the theological college in Batavia on the island of Java. Each of these has the spiritual oversight of some ten to fifteen local churches. These are grouped into five large districts with sub-districts. German missionaries were up to 1940 in charge of both the sub-districts and the districts, a responsibility involving almost perpetual travel. The *ephorus*, or general superintendent, of the entire church—a post first held by Nommensen himself—retained large powers and presided over the Great Synod, which is the highest court of the church.

From the outbreak of war in Europe in September, 1939, the German missionaries in Sumatra, as elsewhere, were cut off from all supplies from their homeland. The International Missionary Council developed a service to these and other "orphaned missions," as they are called. Financial help came from many parts of the globe. The Batak mission force was especially helped through the International Missionary Council by the American Lutheran churches.

When the invasion of Holland by the German military forces led the Netherlands government to intern all the Germans in Sumatra, including the missionaries, a new epoch opened for the Batak church. The overruling leadership of that church was swept away overnight. Has any more dramatic and testing adventure in self-government of the younger churches ever been experienced? The Batak leaders expressed lively satisfaction at having the reins in their own hands. They at once elected as *ephorus* the experienced Batak pastor, Pan-

dita Kassiarius Sirait. A Batak former school teacher, Archelaus Naringgolan, was made secretary-treasurer of the church council. That day, July 10, 1940, was hailed as Independence Day.

Thus a new scene in the Batak drama began during the two years between the fall of Holland into the hands of Germany and the fall of Indonesia under the control of Japan, and will continue into the future. The situation recalls in perspective Arthur Hugh Clough's astringent couplet about the "newborn saints,"

> Who cry, "Oh, easy yoke of Christ";
> But find 'tis hard to get it on!

The Batak Christian leaders experienced a sense of exhilaration at their complete self-government. They swiftly discovered, however, that this threw a new serious load of labor and finance on the church. They had to sustain the salaries of office staff and the upkeep of offices, as well as correspondence with multitudes of local Christian leaders and travel by the district chairman among widely scattered churches caring for three hundred thousand members and still larger numbers of adherents. They were glad to accept the counsel of Dutch missionaries lent as "church visitors." Those Dutch missionaries were supported by the "orphaned missions" funds as the overrunning of Holland by German military forces in 1940 cut the Dutch churches off from the missionaries whom they support. The discipline of responsibility was heavy and must have become still greater after the Japanese occupation started in 1942. Will not this testing toughen the fiber of the Batak church and give new strength and depth to its roots? Western missionary leadership may also learn through the experience of these war years to transfer the supreme control to the indigenous church at an earlier date.

We watch these growing younger churches set in the midst of animist or Buddhist or Mohammedan majorities shaken by war and invaded by mechanistic commercialism, individualism, and nationalism. We ask: "What kind of community will ultimately be shaped in these lands?"

The most potent tool in shaping men into community life for different ends is education. Three forces are now using the school and college. Their interaction, in conflict and in co-operation, will go far to shape the communities of the future. They are, first, the old static pagoda and mosque education, which concentrates on the memorizing of religious books; second, the new type of commercial education designed to make suitable employees for modern commerce and government; and, third, Christian education, which indeed teaches how to earn a living but aims above all at seeing all work, knowledge, and life in its Christian meaning.

The first and oldest educational force in Southeast Asia is exercised by Buddhism and Islam. Buddhist monks in the age-old pagoda school in Burma, Thailand, or Cambodia, and the Moslem *gurus* in Java or in the southern Philippine Islands, are attempting to perform a function that much of modern secularized education has neglected. As the Buddhist monk teaches the boys to repeat the sayings of Gautama, or the Moslem leads his pupils in chanting from the Koran the commands of Allah, each educator is teaching to the new generation the old pattern of its life in the setting of religion. The Buddhist and Moslem pattern for living is static, it has little to say for or to women or girls. But education in those scriptures is based on a conviction about the meaning of the universe and therefore about the meaning of life for each of those boys and for the body of the community in which they are going to be living cells.

The second force using education came mainly into action

after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Western business men surged eastward in the wake of European governments into those Asiatic lands and those islands with money, machines, and organization. They wanted two kinds of human tools. Millions of illiterate peasants were needed to produce billions of dollars' worth of oil, tin, rubber, rice, teak, sugar, copra, and hemp, to be shipped for the soaps, motorcars, breakfast tables and so on of the Americas and Europe. In addition to these unskilled laborers, the Dutch in Indonesia, the French in Indo-China, the British in Burma and Malaya, the Americans in the Philippines, all wanted intelligent "natives" as foremen over these illiterate millions of workers, as technicians in mines and mills, in factories and machine shops, and as subordinates in government offices. The pressure of commerce on the governments and missionaries was to frame education that would create a useful Asiatic and Oceanic minority of skilled men who, for a salary or wage, would be the connection in the economic machine between the white man who controls and the toiling peasant who produces.

Asiatics poured into the new schools and colleges to learn how to read and write and master enough mathematics and science to secure salaries from business or government. The same subjects were, by government pressure, in the curriculum of schools and colleges under Christian auspices and staffed by missionaries; definite Christian teaching was given, however, and most of the so-called secular subjects were taught by Christians. Large numbers attended these institutions to get equipment simply for earning a living. Many parents, however, although not themselves Christians, sent their boys and even girls to the Christian schools because it was recognized that the character of their graduates was at a higher level than that of students in schools under secular auspices. The non-missionary schools gave to their pupils, by

and large, a standard of values little beyond that required in securing an equipment for getting a higher wage than the next man.

Dr. John S. Furnivall, the outstanding expert on education in Southeast Asia, cuts with a surgical scalpel through to the core of the disease when he says: "While the leaders of the people learned in school that the whole duty of man was to get on in the world, the mass of the people remained untouched by Western culture." [7] In other words, such education corrodes the fabric of Buddhist or Islamic community education without weaving any other pattern for living. Dr. Furnivall poses our central problem for shaping the future of those peoples when he asks, "How can we liberate the school from economic bondage, so that it may once again teach children how to live?"

The educationist who desires to make a first-hand inquiry into this whole issue would do well to study the series of official reports on education in Burma for the first forty years of this century. They record that as Western secular education spread, youth progressed continuously toward moral bankruptcy. The moral standards of the schoolboys became every year an increasing cause for concern. After education had been placed under a Burmese minister of state in 1932, the government made Buddhist instruction compulsory in all its schools. This step completely failed to stem the ethical ebb-tide. Burmese government agencies then put trust in football, physical training, and the Boy Scout movement; but with no better results. By 1937 the Burmese minister's official report on public instruction stated: "How to spiritualize education is the real problem."

Treason will be written across the record of Western Chris-

[7] *Educational Progress in Southeast Asia*, by John S. Furnivall, p. 48. New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943.

tendom if it fails to rise to that challenge. For it is we who have broken the old way of life with our shattering materialist culture. We cannot, however, restore the old ways any more than King Canute could hold back the tide by his command. Most of us would not restore the old, if we could, in the sense of re-enthroning the old Buddhist and Islamic education.

Take, for instance, the position of woman. The new pattern of personal and of family community life must rank her with man in equal comradeship. To go back to Buddha or to Mohammed is to court bankruptcy in relation to woman's place in the new order of tomorrow.

In Gautama's original teaching woman is not a complete human being. Man is only fully man when he escapes her snares and becomes a monk. Kenneth Saunders, out of his deep scholarship and intimate experience of living Buddhism, has said that in Buddha's teaching "love and lust are not distinguished as they are in Christianity." The only escape from lust is in celibacy, not in married love. For Buddha, the family is an obstacle that must be escaped if Nirvana is to be reached.

The Burmese people rise in this and in some other respects superior to the original teachings of the founder of their faith. In Burma women have more freedom and a greater approximation to equality with men than in any other land in all Asia, outside the Soviet Union.

The teaching of the Koran is even clearer with regard to the subjection of woman. Tested by reference to the original teachings and the actual life of their founders, neither Buddhism nor Islam can build community in which woman and the family are integral elements with man, and of equal value. Tested by reference to the teachings and the life of its founder, Christianity, and it alone, can build community on that basis. If it is retorted that the Western peoples have not yet fully built such community, the obvious reply is, not that

Christianity has failed, but that the Western nations have not been fully Christian. The path for new action is thus made clear: to try to catch up with the revolutionary advance toward which Christ points. He is still far ahead of our most adventurous thought and action.

What, then, is the way forward for education toward a balanced harmonious community life that has spiritual roots? "No thoroughfare" is written across the path backward to effete spiritual patterns. Frustration and moral decadence, as we see, menace those who explore the new side road of purely secular and technical training. Do any of the scenes that we have watched in this study suggest a clue to our riddle? For instance, we saw in Chapter Four and again earlier in the present chapter how half a million cannibals in Sumatra and Nias have become a community freed from the terror of demonic spirits and the horror of cruel custom. They not only run their own tribal church organizations with peaceful progressiveness but are launching missionary enterprises to bring other large groups into the Christian community. Why? How?

This dramatic change has resulted from the growth of the church and the aid given by government to Christian education by Christian teachers.

This situation in Batakland has its grave blemishes. They spring in part from limitations set by the Dutch government on the scope of Christian education, and from the elements of weakness inevitable in teacher-preachers so recently freed from one of the darkest of the world's paganisms. The astonishing range and strength and progressiveness of the new community, however, spring from its spiritual roots and Christian faith.

Looking across all the lands here surveyed, we find further evidences of the community-building power of the Christian meaning of life integrated into sound education. Examples are

seen in the welding of hundreds of thousands of Christian Karens of many tribes into an essential unity; the growth of a remarkable Christian community on the northwestern ray of the starfish-shaped Celebes, created out of wild Toradja tribes through the long, patient study and work of superb German missionaries, and numbering over a quarter of a million; with a further Christian multitude on the neighboring Sangi and Talaur Islands, due largely to remarkable pioneer work by Moravian missionaries.

A sensational event that eclipsed in real life the inventions of a film scenario proved to be the turning point in the development of the church in those latter islands. The Moslem rajah was plotting to destroy the work of the pioneer missionary, the Reverend F. Kelling, who had built a church and residence on the southern shore facing a smoking volcano on another island. The volcano burst into flame. The people rushed into the church. The whole cone of the volcano blew off and plunged into the sea. A colossal wave with a chaos of fishing craft, huts, and drowning men crashed on the shore, divided in front of the church and swept past it on either side, leaving the church and all within it unharmed.

With increasing momentum local Christian communities through all these nations are moving toward the consciousness that they are branches of the universal Vine.

Practically all the delegates who came to the International Missionary Council meeting at Madras from all these lands of Southeast Asia and the islands would be ready to echo the striking words that Dr. U Hla Bu, President of Judson College, Rangoon, spoke on the way back to Burma, as reported by Mr. Jesse R. Wilson of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society: "When I first heard the words 'ecumenical' and 'ecumenicity' being used at Madras I did not know quite what

they meant. I wondered if perchance they referred to a new kind of disease that had come to afflict mankind! Later, however, when the full meaning of these words broke in upon me, it was a rich experience. Before I went to Madras I had thought of myself as a Christian living in a small Burmese hut; but in the world-wide Christian fellowship at Madras I came to know that I was living in my Father's house in which there are many mansions."

In the gospel is the one and only power to create a world society in which each local community can serve the whole with perfect freedom for its own self-expression. If only we Christians, as individuals and as the one world-wide community, will grasp and act fully upon this infinitely fertile fact, the consequences will be momentous for the future peace of mankind.

Chapter Nine

"SERVANTS OF THE DIVINE FORESIGHT":

CHRISTIAN STRATEGY FOR THE POSTWAR WORLD

As the eyes of an executive of some global airways system move across the world map that covers his office desk, he glances from Hawaii via Canton Island to Fiji and New Caledonia, and from Manila by way of Borneo and Java to Singapore, Thailand, and Burma. He sees a zigzag of lines linking island and mainland airports as part of his transport program. In his perspective the workers in those lands are tools to increase his investors' dividends.

To a master mind of "power" politics those same peoples are pawns on a planetary checkerboard. A truly international statesman, trying to shape plans for a world structure of just peace, sees the leadership in those lands as potentially fellow-craftsmen in erecting the building. The peoples are part and parcel of the fabric itself.

Similarly, the director of the Rockefeller Foundation and the secretary of the Health Division of the League of Nations (now at Washington, D. C.), as they brood over that same globe, see deadly and subtle enemies like cholera, typhus, smallpox, yaws, leprosy, malaria, and bubonic plague, which respect no frontier. All those diseases become more perilous as air, sea, and land transport increase interracial contacts. Those medical scientists see that the struggle between disease and health in those areas touches the welfare of mankind.

But at the same time the financier in Wall street, the London Stock Exchange, or the Tokyo money market sees the lands as sources of rubber, teak, tin, sugar, hemp, oil, or rice. To him their toiling multitudes are "hands" to win those riches from the earth for his own profit and to pile up fresh resources for the acquisitive economic society of which he is a part.

Have we any evidence as to how God sees those lands and peoples? Those who hold that through the Bible record comes the clearest available revelation of his mind and his purpose are sure of a few essential facts.

First, "God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good." Second, of every human being in those lands it is true that God has "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life and man became a living soul." This carries, third, the necessary corollary that each of them, of whatever color or class, culture or sex, is of equal and priceless value to God. Fourth, as persons and as communities we are "prodigal sons" who have in our individual and our collective life turned our back upon the Father of us all by making our own wills and not his our controlling rule of thought and behavior. Fifth, God so loves us all that he gave his son, Jesus Christ, to lead prodigal man home through repentance into oneness with himself and with his brother man. Therefore, sixth, he desires that at all times and in all places we should carry that Good News to all peoples, expressing it in deeds as well as in words. To that end, seventh, his Son initiated in his life on earth, and his Holy Spirit carries forward continuously, a process of which the church is the central organism, which cannot find fulfillment short of world community. As God looks forward beyond the war into the future, he has, as Madame Guyon put it, "an infinite desire to communicate himself." Today, lastly, because the church is in active being

in the life of every one of these peoples, and because the multiple civilizations in which they live are all in the crucible of change, God calls his Christians in all lands to press forward the declaration of the Good News, with unexcelled initiative everywhere. So we may with him achieve an advance that, if we delay, may become impossible. If we seize the occasion, however, we may carry forward the Christian frontier and in all nations help to create those universal just and harmonious human relations that are the only secure foundations for world peace.

That is God's eternal, unchanging strategy of world redemption.

We who call ourselves Christians are bound to be in thought and in action "servants of the divine foresight." Failing that, we play treason to the name we bear.

What, then, is the most creative and vital rôle that we can today play in that service?

There pours over us a positive Niagara of books, pamphlets, speeches and articles, charters and declarations on "the shape of things to come." Every new adventurous experiment in action and fresh initiative in thinking that is brought to the round table of our world discussion may contribute toward the new order. We may rest assured that the ultimate outcome will throw into the shade all these tentative plans. A certain modesty of claim is, therefore, becoming as we pit our relatively puny minds against the chaos and "infinite variety" of the complex warring of interests and clashing of ambitions in that world.

Can we have any real confidence in the value of anything that we think or do in this vast drama of powerful world forces? Yes, we can.

One towering fact dominates the landscape. The absolutely decisive factor as between world chaos and barbarism on the

one hand and harmonious world order on the other lies in the character of the persons who run the business, the politics, the homes, the teaching, the whole complex of human relations within our countries and between the various peoples. The one thing that must inevitably help to create a better world order is to live and to try to lead others to live as loyal members of that world-wide "household of God" that is the church of Christ. To multiply the number of Christians and to deepen continuously their living consciousness of membership in the universal church is the one certain way to build toward world community. This is the continuous primary strategy of the Christian church to which we belong.

The word "ecumenical," now widely used of the movement toward that consciousness of world-wide community, in its Greek origin means the universal household. Many shy at the word as a difficult one; although obviously—as someone has pointed out—it is no more difficult than the word "economical." Many others, however, priding themselves on broad-mindedness, say, "I believe in ecumenism, but I do not believe in missions." That is as sensible as saying, "I like omelets, but I don't approve of hens." All the churches in the world, Western as well as Eastern, older as well as younger, that constitute the ecumenical "household of God" are the direct product of the preaching, teaching, and healing effected by missionaries of the gospel of all races. Ecumenical Christianity is their creation. We have seen that the secular directors of airways, healing, finance, and politics think in terms of the whole planet. For a Christian to think in less than global terms is midsummer madness; for he defies at one and the same time the eternal word of God, the new interdependence of mankind, and the unique universality of the church.

As the Reverend H. P. Thompson, editorial secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, has said, "In every

land where the war has spread the Christian church has now been planted. . . . And that church is, of its very essence, one. No man-made conflicts can annul the fact that God has gathered people of every race and nation into one body—his church: all alike are his children. Fellow-members in that body, they are united by something deeper than all the rivalries and hatreds that divide them. . . . The church of Christ is one, and more than ever knows that it is one."

The experience of an American artillery officer[1] on New Georgia, as described in 1943 in a letter to his mother and father, brings home with admirable directness this essential oneness of the many branches of the universal Vine. The story is of a young member of an older Western church cast unexpectedly into the midst of a group of Solomon Islanders only one generation removed from cannibalism. When this letter was written Japanese forces were still active on part of New Georgia, but had been driven from the area where the officer was "on dogwatch in a dugout of coral rock" while writing. He said:

> Yesterday, a group of the islanders brought in one of our wounded pilots who'd been shot down on a small, outlying island. They saw him go down, paddled in their canoe to the island, and searched for four hours before finding him in a mangrove swamp.
>
> They are a friendly, naïve people and very religious. They are all converts to the Christian faith. . . . They have a beautiful little chapel here which they built of bamboo, thatched palms, and so forth, with beautifully carved windows, altar, and native symbols. The Japanese have ruined and despoiled part of it and ripped up the floor for their own use, but yesterday I think I witnessed the most touching and keenly human scene it has ever been my privilege to see.
>
> Just as the sun was setting, I heard singing coming from the chapel, amidst the sound of artillery fire and planes droning overhead. I thought our chaplain was holding services there for some of the men

[1] Jack Blair of Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire. For background see Chapter Five.

and went over to join them. Looking through the door, I saw twelve of the grass-skirted native men and boys squatting on the floor, singing "Onward, Christian Soldiers" in their native tongue, in the most beautiful voices and with the basses, tenors, and altos making beautiful harmony. Our chaplain was conducting service for them—the first service they'd had in their own church in a year and a half since the Japanese drove them out. It was, under the circumstances, one of the most moving and yet incongruous scenes.

The son of the chief is a big, jet black, strapping lad—a fine-looking chap about six feet two—and he speaks perfect English with an Oxford accent! After they were through with their service they wandered over to where we next held services for our boys and they joined in the singing with us. They seem to know all our hymns, but sing them in their native tongue. The chief's son offered a very beautiful prayer and, at the end of the service, the chief spoke to us in fairly good English.

Such a sturdy and resilient Christian community is not redeemed out of cannibalism save by sacrificial self-giving. For example, Dr. Walter Baddeley, the present Bishop of Melanesia, did not leave the Solomon Islands throughout all the Japanese occupation in 1942 and 1943. He moved through the jungle by night from tribe to tribe, ministering to them in each place during the day. The Japanese beat and even shot islanders who refused information about him. They were clearly looking forward to permanent possession of the islands and ordered the islanders to cease all religious observances. Christian worship, nevertheless, was carried on by them with no interruption in the jungle fastnesses to which they took their women out of reach of the Japanese soldiery.

When the bishop got back to his old headquarters after the Japanese were driven from the Solomons, he found that the only place left for him to live in was his old rice shed. The printing press and all the stock of New Testaments and Prayer Books in many island languages were entirely destroyed. Indeed, in writing home the bishop said with regard

to mission property: "Just wash everything we had out." The beautiful Melanesian Cathedral at Siota is so badly damaged as not to be worth restoring, while many schools and some churches are a total loss.

Dr. Charles E. Fox, who has completely identified himself with the Solomon Islands peoples for many years, tells how during the period of occupation he saw not a single newspaper for twelve months; lived in the bush with no razor or soap or matches, grew a beard, and was without socks. In the process, however, he says: "I got in touch with bush natives [i.e. primitive pagan animists], many of whom I got to know. Many will start schools. . . . So perhaps my flight from the Japanese may lead to eight hundred or so becoming Christians." Numbers of these new Christians from the bush joined the "Brothers," a celibate Christian community created years ago by a Melanesian native as the outcome of a vow made during an illness. The one hundred and thirty Brothers, with numerous probationers, live in poverty, with a simple community headquarters, wear only a cotton kilt bound by a dark girdle, and give their time to evangelism of the "bush" natives.

Similar wresting of good out of evil is suggested by the experience of Dr. Baddeley, who, as he struggled through jungles and climbed mountain passes, saw more bush villages than he had previously been able to visit. This, he affirms, has given him wider knowledge and deeper understanding of primitive village life than ever before. Out of this experience he is shaping definite postwar plans for a network relationship between the mission and the bush villages. Women missionaries, too, hid in the jungles of the Solomons for the first five months of the Japanese occupation, and went on with work among the island women and girls until withdrawal became imperative.

In every one of these lands we rediscover today in action

the unique creative relevance of the Bible to the whole life of people of every cultural grade and its power to strengthen the essential oneness of the church. No animist peasant or jungle dweller is too simple to grasp the story of the sower and the seed or the shepherd and the sheep or to be sustained by the strong hand of the psalms. Yet no pundit or philosopher can outscale the heights of its soaring thought or fully plumb the ocean depths of its meaning. In every area the Bible in whole or in part is today moving into places where no missionary has entered. Conversely, it is building up the character of Christians where the itinerant evangelist has brought them to the living Christ. The amazingly resourceful industry and insight with which missionaries have translated that book into tongues previously unwritten—languages that had no word to distinguish, for instance, the love of God from sensual lust or sacrifice from slaughter—offer us one of the world's unsung epics of heroic self-giving. For us to give support to the Bible societies working from our own homelands is one of the elemental ways of creating that common Christian conscience among all peoples without which world order can never endure. To translate, publish, and distribute that Book in the tongues and in the homelands of all peoples is vital to our strategy. The postwar demand for the Bible in all these areas will be far greater than any ever experienced, if we are to judge from existing evidence.

Postwar strategy also calls for a realistic recognition of the stupendous range of humanity still untouched by the gospel message. Captured by the story of the growth of Christian churches to self-support among the Asiatic and Oceanic peoples, we are in danger of forgetting that everywhere these are islands in an ocean of unevangelized multitudes. Even the actual excess of births over deaths means that the population is expanding faster than the church. When half a million have

become Christians, for example, on the island of Sumatra, there are, because of the increase in population, still more non-Christian Sumatrans than there were before any of them were Christians. The one way in which that leeway can be overcome is to prepare today to press forward with might and main in the days immediately ahead when new doors will be open.

Among numerous examples of the ecumenical radiation of Christian faith as between Christians of the younger and the older churches we may glance at two, partly because they direct attention to this crucial importance of the Bible in strengthening the fiber of the church.

Seven American navy airmen were shot down in combat with the Japanese. They baled out and, having inflated their rubber rafts, drifted on the waste waters of the Pacific Ocean. After two and a half days at sea they reached a South Sea island that was occupied by the Japanese. Christian natives helped them ashore and hid them. An early act of the islanders was to give the Americans a Bible. Men who had escaped as by a miracle out of the perils of the air and of the ocean were now protected by the ceaseless care of the island Christians from their bitter enemies. They saw life afresh. "That gift of the Bible and our experiences made us Christians," wrote twenty-five-year-old aerial gunner Stanley W. Tefft of Toledo, Ohio, from the naval air station at Alameda, California, where he was recuperating from wounds. A profound impression was made upon the seven airmen by the fact that, although for eighty-seven days their presence in the islands was known to over two hundred Christian islanders, who knew, too, that the Japanese visited severe punishment on natives for protecting Australian or American soldiers, yet the hunting Japanese patrols never got on the track of the airmen. "The only thing that brought us back was faith,"

wrote the gunner. "You can tell the world that I am now a devout Christian."

The indomitable spirit that the reading of the Bible and the interrelated stimulus of different churches bring to Thai Christianity is exemplified by the Christians of Chiengmai in north Thailand. In the months just before Japanese occupation of their country they formed themselves into some seventy witness bands. Each consisted of five persons, who went out into the villages armed with Bibles and New Testaments, which the American Bible Society had but recently published in a new Thai translation. Similarly, in central Thailand hundreds of new converts were gathered into the church at about the same time. Their Christian fellow-countrymen were fired to evangelize them not by a missionary from the Western world but by an Asiatic evangelist from China. These Thai Christians thus reaped a harvest of increase to the church in fields where the seed had been sown through years of labor by men and women from the West who brought with them the eternal Scriptures.

Nai Boon in 1938 was a Thai Buddhist who worshipped idols. Becoming a Christian, he entered the service of the Bible Society. He used his own two-wheeled springless cart and team of two oxen to carry his Bibles and himself from village to village and town to town. As he plodded along the country tracks he stopped to tell the gospel story wherever people would listen. They eagerly bought Gospels in order to learn more. He sold many hundreds. His success led to persecution by outraged Buddhists. They treacherously slaughtered one of his "Jesus oxen," but Nai Boon refused to take the case to the law courts. Although so young in his Christian faith, he had learned his Master's way. "I decided," he said, "that I would pray for the salvation of the men who had committed the wrong. . . . I am not the old Boon, I am

the *new*. If this had happened to me before I believed in Jesus, nothing would have stopped my going after them till I got even with them."

Such adventurous witness for the faith by all races in all lands is the primary strategy of the Christian church. The striking of deep roots into the soil of each separate land follows in its train. The power of the church not only to survive storm but to strengthen growth derives from multiple root fibers that it throws down into the soil of the people's life.

We have noticed this Christian rootage in the soil of Asiatic and island life among the Karens and other tribes in Burma, the Bataks of Sumatra, the Minahassians of the Celebes, the Filipinos of Luzon, and numerous island groups. We now examine that miracle of Christian rootage in cannibal society in another area—Dutch New Guinea.

As the missionaries, men and women, cannot possibly travel sufficiently to help the tiny congregations of Christians widely scattered through the dense jungle of that region, they have trained as many as three thousand native teacher-pastor-catechists. Each of these is in charge of a group of villages or a tribal community whose boys and girls he teaches. He conducts simple services of worship and stimulates the local groups of Christians to build a church school of tree-trunk columns and palm tree thatch, with mats for the sides and for the floor. These thousands of unknown leaders normally receive little or no pay from the mission. The prestige of their position of leadership and the support in food and housing by the Christian local group are attractive; but they are often sharply offset by the open hostility of and persecution by the conservative older men of the tribe.

The seeming paradox that the strongest enemy of such Christian growth is often the pagan white man, and that the

new-born Asiatic or island Christian is often sturdier in his faith than many Westerners, is illustrated by the experience of the anthropologist, Dr. Stephen W. Reed, of Yale University, in his monograph, *The Making of Modern New Guinea.*[2] With obvious astonishment he records that "our youthful Kwoma house boys learned several Christian prayers from Wisep, one of our imported personal servants who had attended a mission school. Each morning a little group of them could be heard chanting matins with Wisep." Wisep, Dr. Reed found, held to his adopted faith *despite the fact that he had worked for several Europeans who openly derided Christianity*. Every Sunday he drew Dr. Reed into a discussion in which, says the American, "his childhood religion, his Christianity, and his rationalism were struggling with each other."

One of many examples of the stimulus given to "lapsed" Western Christians by members of even the youngest churches is narrated by a perplexed Western storekeeper in New Guinea. He got to know a Papuan Christian teacher-evangelist named Andrew. The trader offered Andrew a job in his store. "No," replied Andrew, "why should I leave God's work in the mission and work for man instead?"

"I can give you much higher pay than the mission," replied the trader.

"But I don't want higher pay," said Andrew. "I am not looking for money. As long as I can serve God I am content."

Seeing the startled expression on the trader's face, Andrew added, "Didn't our Lord teach that 'it is more blessed to give than to receive'?"

The immediate effect on the trader of his surprise at finding a "native" with so much better knowledge of the Bible than he himself possessed and so quick an obedience to its

[2] Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society in cooperation with the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943.

teaching was that he himself began to read the Book again. This New Guinean, Andrew, reinforces what the late Dr. William Paton of the International Missionary Council used to say, that the missionary and the members of the younger churches are the only Christians today who take the whole of life as the province of religion, in contrast with Western Christendom, which has falsely divided life into the secular and the sacred.

So far we have seen elements in strategy that call for intensification of existing lines of work. We turn now to a field that seems to call for drastic rethinking of existing methods. We have failed to present the Christian message so that it grips the intermediate layer of technically trained Asiatic and island commercial managers, government civil servants, storekeepers, engineers, and journalists. This maims the church's capacity to help in shaping the future.

Today the social structure throughout Southeast Asia and in the islands is a pyramid built in three stages. The multitudes at the base are surmounted by this middle group of technicians, who have been largely ruled so far by a small pinnacle of European governmental, financial, mercantile, and plantation chiefs.[3] When self-determination has eliminated most of those transient Westerners from the top, governmental and economic power will pass to this defectively educated, largely materialistic minority in the middle. Most of their hands are eagerly stretched out everywhere to seize the power and the wealth thus to be surrendered by the West. They will come to the top.

If that newly acquired power is to be exercised for trusteeship and for creative development, the characters of those Asiatic leaders must be controlled by justice, cooperative

[3] See Chapters One to Five for some discussion of their origin.

tolerance, and the will to straight dealing. Only a false optimism would cherish the illusion that any secular materialist view of life will provide sources for such citizenship.

Christianity, so far, has not gripped the imagination nor won the adherence of this middle group of technicians. Yet the faith of their fathers—Buddhism, Islam, or animism—has lost its meaning for them. As one of the most eminent Thai leaders in this middle group said to the writer, "The common people hold to the tradition of the fathers. We [that is, the educated minority] hold to the first lesson of Buddhism, 'Think before you believe.'" Holding a position—as the Buddha himself did—that we would call agnostic, this youngish leader declared that the Thai government would certainly welcome the continuance in the postwar world of the work of the missionary forces that had brought to his land medical knowledge (with, for instance, the vast benefits of vaccination), and other enlightenment like the printing press and schools. He, as a democrat, lamented the element of dictatorship that had crept into Thai rule after the so-called democratic revolution of 1932. At that time the middle group seized power from the royal house. They included leaders of the dictator type. They lived according to their contemptuous epigram about treaties and laws: "Write with your hand; rub it out with your feet!"

If Christianity does not inspire a new spirit in this now secular minority, it will spell unspeakable tragedy for Southeast Asia. Those nations will slide from the control either of outworn Asiatic dynasties or of the old Western empires into new Oriental dictatorships.

What alternative leadership do these people possess? In Thailand as in Burma the celibate Buddhist priests are, from the angle of future strategy, unproductive and dangerous as leaders because they sidetrack youth into reactionary sterility.

Nearly every Thai or Buddhist young man still serves an expected three months in the priesthood, but he does so with a shrug. "My good mother would be miserable if I did not. We have always done it but it doesn't mean anything." Inevitably that despised practice will diminish. The life-denying "withdrawal" attitude of Buddhism has no guiding principle for the dynamic shaping of a democratic order. Materialism, the gospel of "get on and get power," hammers at the door all the time, leading to graft and dictatorship. The betrothal of Buddhism to nationalistic patriotism is an unnatural alliance that can never bring democracy to birth. The brilliant Buddhist renaissance among young intellectuals in China, with the adoption of Henri Bergson's philosophy of creative evolution through *élan vital*, or life force, will penetrate into the present disquiet of Thai and Burmese Buddhism. But that renaissance has no moral authority. The "life force" is non-ethical. It lacks mind. It is incapable of personal love. So it falls tragically short of the life-affirming, morally virile grip of the redemptive discipleship of Christ.

Some forward-looking missionaries in the Buddhist lands of Southeast Asia are convinced that a new strategy is called for with a Christian approach to these unsatisfied Buddhist intellectuals similar to that developed in South China by Dr. Karl Ludwig Reichelt at his *ashram*, the Tao Fong Shan monastery—the translation of which is "the mountain from which the Christ-spirit, the Logos-wind, is blowing."[4] With the old lethargy of Buddhist lands giving way to a quickened ambition for national self-development, we simply must present to youth positive Christianity with its personal redemption, its intellectual integrity, and its pattern for national citizenship and for world order. Our most brilliant and enterprising

[4] See the author's *Through Tragedy to Triumph*, pp. 119-121. New York, Friendship Press, 1939.

men and women may well gird on their mental armor and go into spiritual preparation for so compelling and fascinating an adventure.

All that has been said here of the middle layer in Buddhist lands is valid of Islamic leadership in varying degrees in areas like Java, Malaya, and the South Philippines, where Islam is losing its hold on the younger intelligentsia but is also trying to recover its grip by an alliance with nationalism.

To this secular-minded middle group of "nationals" is added the commercial or mercantile group of Chinese in every land and of Indians in all lands west of Java. For example, in Rangoon in 1940 over 55 per cent of the taxes were paid by Indian immigrants and 17 per cent by Chinese, only 11 per cent being paid by Burmese. This index of economic strength suggests the control these immigrant alien Asiatics exercise. The growth of the Methodist Chinese and Indian churches in Malaya shows that effective Christian work can be done in all fields with this influential group.

We now turn to the most tormenting problem of all, one that comes home to every Western conscience. We shall concentrate upon it in New Guinea; but in different forms it is and will increasingly become all-important for our Christian strategy in all these lands.

Thousands of Australians and Americans during the strife against the Japanese in New Guinea wrote letters home from that great island. They painted alluring pictures of the marvelous fertility of the soil, the riches of gold and other minerals below its surface, the high malaria-free plateaus where white people could settle in thousands. An Australian author, after some weeks in New Guinea, in a book appropriately called *Prowling through Papua*, presses the Australian government to clear forests and develop plantations run by white men.

Britain solemnly pledged her word to the Papuan of Southeast New Guinea that "his liberty and his land" would never be taken away—the "Erskine" pledge, as it is called. But the control of this area has now passed to the hands of the Australian government. Powerful forces will use the press, the platform, and parliament to secure large plantation and mining expansion. Mission boards may lose subscriptions if they fight it. But Sir Hubert Murray says it would spell the "doom" of the Papuan.

Sir James Macgregor and Sir Hubert Murray, as successive administrators in Papua, fought successfully against commercial exploitation within this southeastern area of New Guinea. Unfortunately plantation and mining development rights were alienated from the Papuan under regulations in the northern area, which was German until 1914. When the mandate to rule a part of that northern territory, with the ex-German Bismarck and Solomon Islands, was transferred to Australia after World War I, that alienation of land was not reversed. The governorship of men like Murray in southeast New Guinea (Papua) and the pressure of the missionaries to protect the Papuan from plantation and mine exploitation have been and still are assailed as resisting "progress."

In the study previously cited, *The Making of Modern New Guinea*, Dr. Stephen Reed gives numerous vivid records that prove the havoc, chaos, and bloodshed caused in northern New Guinea by the aggressive efforts of traders, land prospectors, and government officials of different nationalities to compel by force the New Guinean's compliance with the white man's demand for labor; and alongside those records are others that demonstrate the repeated success of the missionaries in restoring harmonious relations.

Sir Hubert Murray put the issue in an unforgettable challenge:

It is difficult to guess at the future of the Papuan under Australian rule. There are many dangers in his path, and the greatest danger of all may come from what I may call a benevolent capitalism, which will use the native solely as a means toward the development of the country in the interests of non-resident capitalists, to the absolute disregard of the future of the native race as a whole and of its eventual advancement to a higher grade of civilization. Such a capitalism disguises itself by an excessive and scrupulous care for the health of the natives and for their education, especially their technical training, and even occasionally by zeal for the proper feeding and accommodation of the indentured laborer; and it is possible that, in this guise, it may so far impose upon the Australian public and the Commonwealth government as to persuade them to allow it to control the administration of Papua. *If so, the doom of the Papuan is sealed—he will remain a servant till the end of time.* If, however, he escapes this fate, he may have a fairly prosperous future before him, and I for one shall be much surprised if eventually he does not show himself a better man than his cousin the Malay.[5]

The fact that "primitive" man can develop immense economic production if his land is retained in his own hands is proved in the plantations of West Africa owned and worked exclusively by Africans, and producing a third of the world's cocoa. Sir Hubert Murray, the results of whose administration in Papua have been acclaimed the world over as "the finest that has ever been achieved in the ruling of a native race," declared in his last utterance before his death that "the only limit of the Papuan's capacity is our capacity to teach."

The main agencies of change in New Guinea are indentured labor, government, and the missions. A half of the roughly 40,000 indentured laborers at work at any given time are on coconut plantations—70 per cent of them in the Bismarck Archipelago. About 7,000 are in gold mining and the same number in commerce. Nearly 5,000 New Guineans are

[5] From a paper read to the Colonial Institute, London, 1923. The italics are mine.

in domestic service, and some 1,700 in that of the government, mainly as native constabulary.

Labor controlled by the whites "educates" the younger males of New Guinea but does not educate the family or the society. This profoundly important distinction has been put clearly by Dr. Stephen W. Reed:

> New Guinea *males* are being educated, in the widest sense of that word, by the system of indentured labor. The missions, on the other hand, direct their programs of education toward societies as wholes, *working through both sexes;* their system, therefore, has broader implications for the ultimate outcome of culture contact, even though its immediate effects may seem less striking. Another important distinction between the missions and indentured labor as agencies of change is that the former have gone to the natives and dealt with them in their own villages. European enterprises, on the contrary, have always taken the natives out of the tribal environment and placed them in new and strange surroundings.[6]

The use of old religions to inflame new nationalisms presents the next taxing demand for really courageous and inventive initiative in the Christian strategy. Postwar governmental independence, for any people predominantly Buddhist, Hindu, or Moslem, will thus intensify existing trends against conversion to the Christian faith. For example, the slogan, "Burma for the Burmese" combines with "To be a Burmese is to be a Buddhist." Islam gave fire and speed to the nationalist movement in Java. So, as we have seen, Karen Christians in Burma and Indonesian Christians in Java look with apprehension toward their fate as a minority charged with lack of patriotism under the rule of Moslems or Buddhists when the people of Java and Burma rule themselves.

Anyone questioning this conviction would do well to discover how great today is the risk of death run by any Mos-

[6] Reed, *op. cit.*, p. 234. Used by permission. The italics are mine.

lem in Egypt—a self-governing nation state—who accepts membership in the Christian church. Moslem pressure in Egypt is driving hundreds of members of the ancient Coptic church every year to accept Islam. Postwar independence will also subject the national Filipino government to pressure from those subtle, unsleeping, resourceful groups who, in every predominantly Roman Catholic land, try to block the advance of evangelical Christianity.

These facts, which it is perilously unrealistic to evade, are not presented at all as an argument against granting independence. They are, however, affirmed here in order that we may face without blinking two truths that most affect the ongoing strategy of the world mission of Christianity. First, when democratic Western governments turn over the rule of Oriental peoples to the minority group of Asiatic leaders now eager to take control, that will not mean an extension of democracy. If that statement is questioned, inquiry may be made among the Karen and other tribes of Burma or the Christian Bataks in the Indies as to their anticipations. Second, the evangelical Christian community is everywhere a minority; and in most cases it is a minority recruited from tribal animist multitudes that have been scorned by the dominant Buddhist or Moslem group.

For all these reasons the forces of Christianity engaged in recruiting, training, and equipping honest, efficient, and indigenous Christian leadership should be strengthened tenfold. The growth of democratic freedom in those communities will be immensely reinforced by such leadership. For real democracy never has grown anywhere save from Christian roots.[7] Also, in areas where the Christian church will certainly be called upon to undergo open or hidden political, economic,

[7] The early Greek city-states were no exception. They were self-governing oligarchies founded on slave labor.

and social persecution, its power of survival will be greatly strengthened by such native Christian leadership.

The Honorable Francis B. Sayre, United States High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands, out of his profound experience has summed this issue up succinctly:

> This program [of equality of opportunity in Asia] raises problems of great complexity. The democratic faith does not mean the granting of independence to every people overnight. But it does mean a vigorous program of education and training and preparation for the responsibilities of independence.[8]

The brown man's burden will be heavy everywhere after the war. Where he shoulders responsibility for self-government on a democratic basis, he will be entering on a venture that has never been brought to fruition in Asia. Where he continues to live under the direct or indirect control of Western governments, he takes up the yoke of development of those capacities that will enable his people to stand erect as self-governing nation states. Whether the Asiatic and island peoples are self-governing or governed, however, the pagan white man will be the heaviest load in the brown man's burden. Our strategy, therefore, must include intensive education of every last citizen of our Western democracies from the platform, the pulpit, and "over the air," and in books, pamphlets, and periodicals, regarding, especially, the perils of economic imperialism that tempt every shareholder in commercial concerns securing raw material from the hands of these Eastern and tropical peoples. The Christian responsibility of us all for the stewardship of money and for influence upon government is at the heart of the new missionary strategy.

Powerful trends lead to the conviction that, within whatever global control world peace is to be secured, America may

[8] New York *Times* Magazine Section, July 5, 1942.

after the war for a long period shoulder responsibilities in the fourteen hundred Pacific islands that the League of Nations mandated from Germany to Japan, as well as in the Philippines. Australia may exercise similar tutelage in Melanesia and non-Dutch New Guinea, with New Zealand holding control in some Polynesian islands, while Holland develops her rôle throughout Indonesia.

Notable statements on the spirit in which such responsibility must be shouldered have been made by responsible leaders like Professor Allan Nevins, of Columbia University, on his return in 1944 from Australasia to America, and by Dr. A. P. Elkin, professor of anthropology in the University of Sydney, in his "Charter for the Southwest Pacific." [9] Recognizing that the safety of America and of Australia has been secured by turning the lands of these innocent peoples into a battleground, Dr. Elkin applies the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter to their life under the over-arching principle that "the welfare and future progress of the native peoples" is the objective. Our one fear with regard to his "Fourteen Points" is that the establishment of native community enterprises and plantations comes after acceptance of the principle of alienation of land to the white man. The unsleeping pressure of commercial interests has so often proved to be more potent than our, at times, sporadic humanitarian trusteeship. This strengthens our plea that the churches in every land have a clear responsibility to back up their national leadership in applying Christian principles to all economic and political relations with those areas.

The writer has had the opportunity of sharing, either directly or through correspondence, the new strategic planning that is engaging the best thought of the mission boards of America, Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. By

[9] In *The Missionary Review,* Australia, November 5, 1943.

underground channels we also know how thoroughly Dutch missionary leadership is rethinking its strategic advances and recruiting new personnel. These far-seeing projects, many of them cooperative as between denominations and as between races, show courageous statesmanship. They can only be carried through, however, if the rank and file of Christian church members give understanding, large-hearted, world-minded backing. If, however, we work thus together as "servants of the divine foresight," all things are possible. That is a personal responsibility that all share.

The importance for the Christian conscience of concentrating practical, direct spiritual and moral influence on the economic as well as the political development of dependent peoples in Southeast Asia and the islands is threefold. First, the whole future for good or for ill, for self-rule and self-support or for perpetual serfdom of the inhabitants of these lands, depends upon the standards we adopt and act upon. Second, in this area the white peoples have, it may be, their outstanding opportunity for working the works of repentance for earlier economic exploitation of primitive peoples. Third, the Christian faith active in the growing church can thus show its power to leaven government and commerce with justice and mercy, and to bring to birth redeemed communities out of primitive society.

The unfolding drama of that encounter of Christ with the forces of evil through his "holy church throughout all the world" may well be summed up in the following story of the grandson of a cannibal, armed with a hammer and a flattened nail.

A stalwart Papuan Christian of just thirty years of age, walking on the beach, met Dean John Bodger in 1941 near the new Dogura Cathedral that both had helped to build.

"I am going into the jungle for some weeks," said the Dean to Japhet Koibua, "to visit the Christian churches. Soon after I come back the time will be here for celebrating the jubilee of the day when the first missionary landed on this beach to bring the gospel of Jesus Christ to your father and his folk and the people all along these four hundred miles of coast. We shall enact a scene on this beach to repeat the incident of that landing by Albert Alexander Maclaren and Copland King on August 10, 1891. Will you make an arch on the beach under which we can walk so that the story may be remembered—an arch that will bring to the minds of your friends what it all means?"

As Japhet listened to these words, he agreed to do his best. Dean Bodger made no suggestions as to the form that the arch should take, for he wanted it to be the spontaneous expression of the Papuan Christian's mind and heart. Dr. Bodger, however, knew his man and his ancestry. Japhet's father was the canoe paddle-maker of his tribe; and those who have handled a Papuan ceremonial paddle know that it is at its best a triumph of symbolic wood sculpture. Japhet had inherited his father's gift; apparently he alone in the family, for his elder brother is the village policeman and another is clerk to the local magistrate. Japhet has varied gifts. He knows intimately more of the neighboring languages than most of his people. He is a skilled road-planner and maker; a master in the native architecture; and when he is teaching a group of boys and girls he draws pictures as he goes along, using colored crayons. His creative joy is at its peak when he has a hammer in one hand and his chisel in the other and a fine piece of seasoned wood before him. Incidentally his one and only chisel is a six-inch nail with the point hammered flat and sharpened.

Weeks later Dean Bodger returned from his round of visi-

tation. One of his first acts was to go to the beach to see what Japhet had done. Two tall strong posts stood there. Up each was carved a curving sequence of palm trees. The two posts supported between them a broad fascia board. At one end was the date "1891." By the date was a closed New Testament, with binding, title, and even the red edges, carved so skillfully that small Papuan boys were seen climbing up and trying to open its pages! By the New Testament, the rising sun was carved, just coming up over the horizon. Next was incised the whole of the Lord's Prayer. Japhet had then carved an open Bible. Alongside it, the sun was shown fully risen in a blaze of glory. Next was engraved the Collect for the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity, "O God, for as much as without thee we are not able to please thee; mercifully grant that thy Holy Spirit may in all things direct and rule our hearts; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." At the end came the date "1941," and "We thank thee, O Lord!"

APPENDIX

I: SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC

POPULATION AND CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

Country	Area in Square Miles	Population	Density per Square Mile	Christian Community			
				Protestants		Roman Catholics	Total Christian Community
				Communicants	Total Protestant Community [1]	Total Catholic Community [2]	
BURMA	261,610	16,823,798	64.3	147,270	548,089	133,490	681,579
THAILAND	200,148	14,464,489	72.2	10,107	15,000	54,277	69,277
INDO-CHINA	286,000	24,461,251	85.5	15,000		1,443,671	1,458,671
MALAYA [3]	132,898	6,310,036	47.4	24,588	44,000	66,465	110,465
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS	114,400	16,000,000		250,000	630,000	13,459,247 [4]	14,089,247
NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES							
Borneo	206,061	2,500,000	12.1		15,770	9,129	
Celebes	73,160	4,226,586	57.7		472,337	24,468	

Dutch New Guinea and Moluccas	192,402	893,030	4.6		247,172	37,529	
Java and Madura	51,057	48,000,000	940.1		81,191	103,395	
Sumatra	163,093	9,000,000	54.6		461,680	10,071	
Remaining Islands	47,523	5,380,384			158,786	269,518	
TOTALS	733,296	70,000,000			1,436,936	454,110	1,891,046
MELANESIA							
New Hebrides	5,700	43,119					
Fiji Islands	7,083	201,518					
New Caledonia	8,548	60,809					
New Guinea Mandate [5]	93,000	587,625					
Papua	90,540	339,400					
TOTALS	219,471	1,327,471		94,827	254,962	269,457	524,419
MICRONESIA							
Gilbert and Ellice Islands	180	32,427					
Caroline Islands	380	36,000					
Marianas	245	69,530					
Marshall Islands	160	10,311					
TOTALS	965	148,268		10,579	28,839	[6]	

[1] Includes, in addition to communicants, persons under instruction and adherents. [2] Includes baptized persons and those under instruction. [3] Includes British North Borneo, Sarawak, and Brunei. [4] Includes 2,500,000 members of the Independent Filipino Church (Aglipayan). [5] Includes Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomons. [6] Statistics not available.

II. A READING LIST

THE spread of war in the Pacific has resulted in a greatly increased output of books on Southeast Asia and the Pacific islands. It has been possible to include in this list only a limited number of titles. In spite of the rapidly multiplying number of books on this part of the world as a whole, it is still true that for certain countries and island areas with which the United States and Canada have had relatively slight contact, there are but few recent books in English that are easily available in North America. Some of the general books listed below contain chapters that help to fill this lack.

A wide range of opinion is represented in the list and many of the views expressed are not in accord with those of the author of this book.

Titles marked (*) taken together are suggested as a working library for study groups that want to secure a few books and pamphlets for reference and collateral reading.

Titles marked (†) are fuller and more expensive volumes for reference by leaders and groups doing advanced work.

An annotated bibliography of general books on the Far East is available from the Institute of Pacific Relations, 129 East 52nd Street, New York 22. Price 10 cents.

Leaders of adult study groups on Southeast Asia can secure from denominational literature headquarters supplemental materials; also a pamphlet entitled "Discussion and Program Suggestions for Adults on Southeast Asia," by Raymond P. Currier and Constance M. Hallock, price 25 cents.

GENERAL

* *Annals, The,* March, 1943, "Southeastern Asia and the Philippines." Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1943. Cloth $2.50; paper $2.00.

AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC, by Members of the Australian Institute of International Affairs. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944. $2.50.

CROSS WINDS OF EMPIRE, by Woodbern E. Remington. New York, The John Day Co., 1941. $3.00.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, by John S. Furnivall. New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943. $2.00.

"Far East, The: A Syllabus," by George L. Harris. New York, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1942. 40 cents.

FUTURE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA, THE, by Kavalam M. Panikkar. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1943. $1.75.

* GOVERNMENT AND NATIONALISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, by Rupert Emerson, Lennox A. Mills, and Virginia M. Thompson. New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1942. $2.00.

† GREAT CENTURY IN THE AMERICAS, THE: AUSTRALASIA AND AFRICA, A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914, by Kenneth Scott Latourette. (Vol. V of A HISTORY OF THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY.) New York, Harper & Brothers, 1943. $4.00.

"Half of Humanity: Far Eastern Peoples and Problems," by M. Searle Bates. New York, The Church Peace Union, 1942. 10 cents.

Madras Meeting of the International Missionary Council, held at Tambaram, Madras, India, 1938. New York, International Missionary Council, 1939. Report in 7 volumes. Particularly the following:

Vol. II. THE GROWING CHURCH
Vol. III. EVANGELISM
Vol. V. THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE CHURCH
Vol. VI. THE CHURCH AND THE STATE

* "Peoples of the China Seas," by Elizabeth Allerton Clark. New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1942. 40 cents.

* PEOPLES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA, by Bruno Lasker. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. $3.00.

SILENT BILLION SPEAK, THE, by Frank C. Laubach. New York, Friendship Press, 1943. Cloth $1.00; paper 60 cents.

TALES FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA, by Alice Hudson Lewis. New York, Friendship Press, 1944. Paper 50 cents.

WAR AND PEACE IN THE PACIFIC. A Preliminary Report of the Eighth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations on Wartime and Post-War Co-operation of the United Nations in the Pacific and the Far East, held at Mont Tremblant, Quebec, December 4-14, 1942. New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943. $1.25.

* WEST OF THE DATE LINE: CHRISTIAN PIONEERING IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, by Constance M. Hallock. New York, Friendship Press, 1944. Paper 50 cents.

YANKEE DOCTOR IN PARADISE, by Sylvester M. Lambert. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1941. $3.00.

YEARS OF BLINDNESS, by H. G. Quaritch Wales. New York, The Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1943. $3.00. Particularly Thailand, Indo-China, and Malaya.

BURMA

BOARDMAN OF BURMA, by Joseph C. Robbins. Philadelphia, The Judson Press, 1940. $1.50.

"Burma: Christian Progress to the Invasion," by Archibald McLeish (No. 4 in War-time Series, World Dominion Surveys). New York, World Dominion Press, 1942. 50 cents.

* "Burma Diary," by Paul Geren. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1943. 50 cents.

* BURMA SURGEON, by Gordon Seagrave. New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1943. $3.00.

EASTWARD! THE STORY OF ADONIRAM JUDSON, by Stacy R. Warburton. New York, Round Table Press, 1937. $2.50.

IT BEGAN IN BURMA, by Randolph L. Howard. Philadelphia, The Judson Press, 1942. $1.00.

† MODERN BURMA, by John L. Christian. Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1942. $3.00.

WHERE CHINA MEETS BURMA, by Beatrix Metford. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1943. $1.75.

THAILAND

ANNA AND THE KING OF SIAM, by Margaret Landon. New York, The John Day Co., 1944. $3.75.

TALES OF THAILAND, by Florence Bingham Crooks. Published by the author, 1942. $2.00. Available from Central Distributing Department, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

† THAILAND: THE NEW SIAM, by Virginia M. Thompson. New York, The Macmillan Co., for Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941. $5.00.

"Today in Thailand," by Archibald McLeish (No. 3 in War-time Series, World Dominion Surveys). New York, World Dominion Press, 1942. 50 cents.

INDO-CHINA

EAST OF SIAM, by Harry A. Franck. New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939. $1.00.

FRENCH INDO-CHINA, by Virginia M. Thompson. New York, The Macmillan Co., for Institute of Pacific Relations, 1937. $3.00.

MALAYA

† FOOTPRINTS IN MALAYA, by Sir Frank A. Swettenham. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942. $5.00.

MALAYAN POSTSCRIPT, by Ian Morrison. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1943. $2.75.

POST MORTEM ON MALAYA, by Virginia M. Thompson. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1943. $3.00

"Racial Melting Pot, A: Religion in Malaya," by Archibald McLeish (No. 1 in War-time Series, World Dominion Surveys). New York, World Dominion Press, 1940. 35 cents.

NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

* Ageless Indies, The, by Raymond Kennedy. New York, The John Day Co., 1942. $2.00.

Dutch East Indies: Its Government, Problems, and Politics, by Amry Vandenbosch. Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1942. $4.00.

* "East Indies Discoveries," by Henry P. Van Dusen. A reprint of seven chapters from For the Healing of the Nations. New York, Friendship Press, 1944. 25 cents.

* "Netherlands Indies and the United States, The," by Rupert Emerson. Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1942. Cloth 50 cents; paper 25 cents.

† Netherlands Indies: The Religious Situation, by John Rauws, H. Kraemer, F. H. F. Van Hasselt, N. A. C. Slotemaker de Bruïne. New York, World Dominion Press, 1935. $2.00.

† Nusantara: A History of the East Indian Archipelago, by Bernard H. M. Vlekke. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1943. $5.00.

Tuan Hoover of Borneo, by Frank T. Cartwright. New York, The Abingdon Press, 1938. $1.75.

ISLANDS OF THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC

Chalmers of New Guinea, by Alexander Small. New York, George H. Doran Co., 1924.

Fiji, Little India of the Pacific, by John W. Coulter. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942. $2.00.

* "Fuzzy-Wuzzy Angels of Papua," by John D. Bodger. Toronto, The Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, 1944. 30 cents. Available also through Friendship Press, New York, 35 cents.

Islands of the Pacific, by Hawthorne Daniel. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1943. $2.50.

John G. Paton, Missionary to the New Hebrides, by John T. Mueller. Grand Rapids, Michigan, Zondervan Publishing House, 1941. $1.00.

John Williams, the Shipbuilder, by Basil Mathews. New York and Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1915. 85 cents. (Available through Toronto office.)

Letter from New Guinea, by Vern Haugland. New York, Farrar & Rinehart, 1943. $1.50.

† Making of Modern New Guinea, The, by Stephen W. Reed. Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1943. $4.00.

OCEAN OUTPOSTS, by Helen Follett. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942. $2.00.

ON BOTH SIDES OF THE EQUATOR: A HISTORY OF THE NEW GUINEA AND INDIA MISSION FIELDS OF THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH, by F. Braun and C. V. Sheatsley. Columbus, Ohio, The Lutheran Book Concern, 1937. $1.00.

PAPUA OF TODAY, by Sir John Hubert Murray. London, P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1925.

PAPUAN ACHIEVEMENT, THE, by Lewis Lett. New York, G. E. Stechert & Co., 1943. $2.75.

PATTESON OF MELANESIA: A BRIEF LIFE OF JOHN COLERIDGE PATTESON, MISSIONARY BISHOP, by Frank H. Paton. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1930. $1.40.

* SOUTH SEAS IN THE MODERN WORLD, THE, by Felix M. Keesing. New York, The John Day Co. for Institute of Pacific Relations, revised edition, 1942. $3.50.

THERE GO THE CONQUERORS, by Basil Mathews. New York, Round Table Press, 1936. $1.00. Particularly Chapter I on John Williams and Chapter V on John Coleridge Patteson.

WESTWARD THE COURSE! THE NEW WORLD OF OCEANIA, by Paul McGuire. New York, William Morrow & Co., 1942. $3.75.

THE PHILIPPINES

"Christian Archipelago, A: A Review of Religion in the Philippines," by Archibald McLeish (No. 2 in War-time Series, World Dominion Surveys). New York, World Dominion Press, 1941. 40 cents.

FORTY YEARS IN THE PHILIPPINES, by James B. Rodgers. New York, Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1940. $2.00.

* FROM CARABAO TO CLIPPER, by E. K. and I. W. Higdon. New York, Friendship Press, 1941. Cloth $1.00; paper 50 cents.

PHILIPPINES, THE: A NATION IN THE MAKING, by Felix M. Keesing. New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1937. $2.00; student edition $1.25.

† PHILIPPINES, THE: A STUDY IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, by J. R. Hayden. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1942. $9.00.

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